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ZERI I POPULLIT on Malta Meeting

AU0512144689 Tirana ATA in English 1010 GMT 5 Dec 89

["'The Bush-Gorbachev Meeting's Talks on Europe, But to Its Detriment'—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 5 (ATA)—In an article about the unscheduled meeting of December 2-3 in Malta between the U.S. President Bush and the Soviet President Gorbachev, the commentator of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, Shaban Murati, stresses that this meeting was set and held quickly by the two superpowers as a completely special meeting with a special topic, to discuss on the recent events in East Europe, and in this context, the entire American and Soviet policy and strategy in the European continent. In the center of the Malta meeting was Europe, its ratios, developments, and destinies and this was made at a time when Europe was not represented there. It is strange enough that while the leaders and officials of the two superpowers accepted that Europe will be in the center of the meeting, nothing concrete was said to the world on what they discussed and decided upon, what did the two sides coordinate on the European continent and its problems, the article points out. The events in East Europe, where the bourgeoisie and opportunists are trying through similar tactics and strategies to liquidate socialism as a social order and where the revisionist parties handed over their power to the reactionary anticommunist forces, thus carrying to the end their counterrevolutionary mission, have created new problems, which have to do with the relations of the superpowers to their policy in Europe, with the military-political blocs they manipulate, etc. These events have caused a turbulent situation fraught with consequences even in the world.

Under such circumstances, ZERI I POPULLIT stresses, the superpowers projected and conducted the unscheduled meeting of Malta to treat the questions of Europe in order that all these developments do not impair their interests of a superpower and the perspective interests they have regarding our continent. On this basis, they have also discussed in the previous summit meetings between them. But the events in East Europe, and not only there, have raised new problems, which the two superpowers want to keep under their control. Their basic objective is that the internal processes in various European countries should not effect the existence of the spheres of influence and the military-political blocs manipulated by them. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union seek to keep under their control these internal processes so that they do not go so far as to challenge the strategy of their control and domination over Europe. This was the spirit that characterized the discussion on the European questions in the Malta meeting.

Regarding the great global policy and strategy of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, it is of no importance what name this or that country takes, what label will be attached to this or that political force that is or will come to power, it does not discuss either the problem of the membership of the blocs of the superpowers to the existence of these blocs. The confirmation of the maintenance and consolidation of these blocs, applying in them a certain degree of perestroyka transforming them into "political-military" blocs, expresses the maintenance of the spheres of influence of each superpower. The fact that the European problems are treated in the spirit of strategic interests of the superpowers worries the European peoples and countries. Europe was not represented in Malta, as it was not present in the other summit meetings between the two superpowers, but this time, the challenge of the superpowers towards Europe is more open and flagrant. Therefore, the worries over these Soviet-American bargains on Europe keeps increasing.

Despite the great fuss made on this meeting, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion, it is a new fact testifying to the manipulation of international problems by the superpowers. This situation dictates the necessity of enhancing the vigilance of the peoples in the face of the intrigues of the secret diplomacy of the superpowers, a situation which seeks realism and not illusions, resolute action in defence of the freedom of independence and national sovereignty.

Carcani Sends Message to Greek Prime Minister

AU0112205589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Telegram from Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Greek Prime Minister Xenophon Zolotas—date and place not given]

[Text] It is my pleasure, on the occasion of your appointment to the high position of prime minister of the Republic of Greece, to convey to you sincere greetings and best wishes. I am convinced that the friendly relations between our neighboring countries will continue to develop and strengthen to the benefit of our two friendly peoples, and of peace and cooperation in the Balkans.

Marko Speaks at Liberation Anniversary Reception

AU0512145389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 89 p 1, 4

[Speech by Rita Marko, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member, at a reception marking the 45th anniversary of liberation, in the Palace of Brigades in Tirana on 29 November]

[Text] Dear comrades and guests,

When we have a day of celebration, joy spreads throughout the people and to every corner of the homeland. Because of our successive achievements, our rejoicing began a long time before 28 and 29 November, these culminating days in the millennia-old history of Albania and Albanians, wherever they live.

It is a special honor and joy for me to be able to greet you in the name of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, and to wish you joy at the great November festivities.

On occasions like today's, we recall our long struggles and the blood unstintingly shed by our people in order to arrive at these great celebrations. We remember and honor those who fought through the centuries with gun and pen, and became immortal by laying down their lives.

On such important days, we draw up a balance sheet of our achievements and look ahead to fresh goals. Our achievements in socialist construction are a moving reality for everyone.

Starting more or less from nothing, we have today a diversified industry, which is always developing and progressing. Our once deeply backward agriculture has been modernized and is introducing the newest technologies. It is meeting the people's vital needs for agricultural and animal products and the needs of industry for raw materials. Education, culture, science, and health have reached up-to-date levels, and the homeland's defense is unshakable. We pride ourselves on these achievements, because they have radically changed the face of the homeland and have been achieved by relying entirely on our own resources. Albania has won a reputation in the international arena for the principled foreign policy it pursues and the just standpoints it holds.

Our social system has demonstrated its superiority in every way, through the party and the power of the people, which the people chose and imposed on themselves by their own free will. Albania will also in the future blossom and advance inexorably on the road of socialism.

An atmosphere of enthusiasm and a sense of mobilization have engulfed the masses throughout this jubilee year. The proceedings of the eighth party Central Committee plenum have further augmented the masses' zeal for their labors, in order to arrive at the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the people's revolution, as is our custom, with successes to our credit. In many branches of the economy, plans have been fulfilled and exceeded. The agricultural sector has yielded more agricultural and animal products than last year, and major steps forward have been taken in other sectors. The homeland's defense has been strengthened, and the unity of the people round the party has been further forged. These achievements, which are also cheering for our compatriots, friends, and well-wishers throughout the world, boost our confidence and determination to advance boldly, as we have thus far, on the road of socialist construction—the road on which our glorious party farsightedly leads us and which was shown to us by our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We carefully follow the course of world events. The situation is complex. The changes taking place in the countries of the East are striking. From the ideological point of view, the attitude of our party to these processes is well-known. At the same time, we wish that these countries may strengthen their freedom and national independence and secure their national sovereignty without the intervention of imperialism and other such reactionary forces.

Our country opposes every plot hatched by the superpowers at the expense of the people and the cause of peace and international security. As hitherto, it will support the peoples' efforts to realize their legitimate aspirations and will pursue consistently the policy of friendship, peace, and cooperation with all countries on the basis of respect for freedom and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit. Our policy of good-neighborliness, rapprochement, and friendship with the peoples and countries of the Balkans is constant and unchanging. We will persist in every effort to strengthen the climate of understanding and mutual trust and to extend relationships among our countries.

We are on the threshold of 1990, the last year of the eighth 5-year period. Inspired by Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at the prize-giving ceremony for honorary titles and Republic Prizes, let us further encourage the healthy atmosphere and revolutionary zeal aroused among the masses by the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. Let us build on this year's achievements, because this is how socialist Albania will become stronger and the life of its people more prosperous.

Once again I wish you every joy on 28 and 29 November!

I propose a toast:

To our heroic people, to the glorious AWP and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, and to the health of everybody here today!

Leaders' Public Appearances 25 Nov-1 Dec

AU0212170589

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 25 November-1 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava attended a ceremony at which high decorations and orders were awarded on 25 November. (1900 GMT 25 Nov 89)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Rita Marko, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended the opening of a figurative arts exhibition in Tirana on 27 November. (1900 GMT 27 Nov 89)

Hekuran Isai, Rita Marko, Manush Myftiu, and Pirro Kondi attended a ceremony at which Tirana University was conferred the title of Hero of Socialist Labor on 27 November. (1900 GMT 27 Nov 89)

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, paid homage at the Martyrs of the Nation Ceremony in Tirana on 28 November. (1900 GMT 28 Nov 89) The aforementioned leaders also attended a solemn meeting held at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana to commemorate the 45th liberation and 77th independence anniversaries, as well as a concert on 28 November. (1900 GMT 28 Nov 89)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava attended a military and civilian parade in Tirana on 29 November. (1430 GMT 29 Nov 89). The aforementioned leaders also attended a dinner on the occasion of the 45th liberation and 77th independence anniversaries. (1900 GMT 29 Nov 89)

Khranov Views 'History-Making' Malta Meeting

AU0512151489 Sofia BTA in English
1421 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Malta Summit: Eight-Hour History-Making"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA political observer Nencho Khranov)—Weathermen missed their mark about the time of the Gorbachev-Bush summit in Malta. Instead of the sunny and warm autumn days they had forecast, an unprecedented storm swept the sea. The political weathermen, however, who had predicted fine results of that informal meeting between the leaders of the world's political and military heavyweights, guessed right. The get-together on board the Soviet cruise liner, the "Maksim Gorkiy," did bring to an end a long period in world politics and, most important of all, it ushers in a new period of long peace on equal terms.

In their eight hours of open and candid discussions, Mr Gorbachev and Mr Bush considered a broad spectrum of questions ranging from bilateral relations to the planet's trouble spots. The statements of the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the U.S. chief executive at their joint news conference put the results in a nutshell. Unsensational as they might seem, the specific common understandings they reached are by far not insignificant. On disarmament, the halving of strategic offensive arms received a new and, hopefully, decisive impetus. The timings set will stimulate a search of definitive wordings for the prospective treaty: a January 1990 meeting in Moscow between the two countries' chief diplomats, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and Mr James Baker, and drafting the key provisions of the accord by June next year. There is also optimism about the chances of a treaty on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments being signed at the summit level next year. The working out of a comprehensive chemical weapons ban convention faces fine prospects, too. All this goes far beyond the limits of declared good intentions and amounts to commitments jointly assumed by the superpowers.

Bilateral relations were boosted powerfully by the clearly expressed political support for Soviet perestroika and the opening of a really new chapter on the record of Soviet-American contacts. One particularly exciting achievement is the progress towards normalizing economic relations. I believe that common ground has already been reached on the repeal of the outdated Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act and, in this way, on lifting the artificial barrier to the promotion of normal bilateral trade and to the import of Soviet goods into the United States. Besides this, the U.S. President backed the Soviet Union's application for an observer status in GATT and in other Western economic organisations, which will facilitate normal business.

The breathtaking changes in Eastern Europe and the view which the United States and NATO take of the new problems as they arise were also high on the agenda in Malta. Indicatively, both negotiating parties stressed the need to guarantee stability which should not only reassure and give confidence to all countries in Europe without exception but should also safeguard the future of the emergent, and therefore still fragile, European structures. If I quote this formulation from Mr Gorbachev's briefing of the Warsaw Treaty countries' leaders in Moscow on December 4, I do so because it laid a significant emphasis on stability and respect for the interests of the socialist states. For any talk about a Helsinki process and about future Europe-wide cooperation should proceed from the existing European borders and from the peoples' right to a free choice of destiny. The Warsaw Treaty and NATO will obviously retain their role by promoting mainly their political aspect and by contributing still more tangibly to the consolidation of European security, to the lowering of military confrontation. These are pressing issues carrying great political weight, and the narrowing down of differences on them in Malta will be of great political importance for the progress of international relations, for the practice of new political thinking. Which will imply a break with the outdated approaches of confrontation and suspicion and reliance on the buildup of military strength.

If all this happens, we don't need prophetic powers to assert that the "cold war" politics was indeed wrecked in the rough sea off Malta.

Press Views Meeting

AU0512094689 Sofia BTA in English
0811 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Roundup of Press Reaction to Bush-Gorbachev Summit"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The Soviet-American summit lived up to the expectations of catalyzing the changes for the better in international relations, says a signed commentary in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes in an editorial: "Malta did not become a Yalta, contrary to the predictions of some hawks who warned against another retailoring of the world map. Still, Malta will go down in history as an end and a beginning: the end of confrontation and the beginning of a long peacetime."

Comparing the summits in Malta and Reykjavik, the same paper points out: "Without the arms race reversal in Reykjavik, the summits in Washington, Moscow and Malta would have been unthinkable. This time the breakthrough affected the assessment of the situation in Europe."

KOOPERATIVNO DELO believes that the summit, which was held at a watershed historical time for Europe and therefore for the world, will be remembered as the great u-turn in superpower relations towards cooperation in building a future of peace. In the newspaper's opinion, the summit gives a powerful impetus to the CSCE process.

Mladenov Leads Delegation to Moscow for Visit

AU0412102689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] On 4 December, Comrade Petur Mladenov left for Moscow, where he will take part in the meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states. At the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev will brief the representatives of the allied countries on the results of his talks with U.S. President George Bush in Malta. After the meeting, Comrade Petur Mladenov will remain in the USSR on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Dimitrov Holds Talks

AU0512173289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] A meeting took place in Moscow today between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Nikiforov and Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. They exchanged views on a wide range of questions concerning restructuring and work with the cadres in the foreign affairs departments of the two countries.

Dimitrov Meets Shevardnadze

AU0512183189 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 5 (BTA)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, had a meeting with Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

The Soviet minister expressed full support to the innovative processes in Bulgaria.

On his side the Bulgarian foreign minister said that the political course outlined by the November plenum of the CC of the the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] opens new opportunities for strengthening of the friendship and for development of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

In the spirit of the traditionally good interaction the two sides reiterated the common desire for making fuller use of the impulses of restructuring for the further raising of the efficiency of the cooperation between the two countries on the international arena.

Once again was expressed the unity in the views and approaches of the two countries concerning the chief issues of international politics.

The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere and sincere mutual understanding.

Mladenov News Conference

AU0512205389 Sofia BTA in English 1952 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 5 (BTA)—Today there was a press conference of Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, with Soviet and foreign journalists.

In his opening speech Mr Petur Mladenov spoke about the results of the meeting he had with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU and president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He said that during the talks the two sides exchanged views on the development of Bulgaro-Soviet relations and the processes of restructuring which are now carried out in both countries. They also discussed a number of key problems of international life.

Mr Mladenov pointed out that at the meeting, which passed in the spirit of friendship and openness, it was established that the two countries are equally determined to firmly continue along the path of the further promotion of democracy, glasnost and innovation of socialism. The Bulgarian side underlined that the experience which the Soviet Union has already accumulated in the field of restructuring and innovation of socialism is very important for Bulgaria. As far as international problems are concerned, the two sides shared the view that Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are unflinchingly following the policy of peace, cooperation and understanding in Europe and in the world worked out together with their allies.

Answering a question about the Soviet experience which Bulgaria can make use of, Mr Mladenov pointed out that many of the problems which the country is facing on the road to restructuring are similar to those which the Soviet Union had got to solve two or three years ago or is solving now. We have always thought, the Bulgarian leader said, that other countries' experience should be made use of creatively, by taking into consideration the respective specific conditions. And when the question is about something that is being created now, one can hardly think that everything will go smoothly and that there will be no difficulties. That is why we want to use all that is positive in the Soviet restructuring and to creatively apply it to the conditions in Bulgaria. It is very important, Mr Petur Mladenov underlined, that the restructuring in the Soviet Union spreads in all fields of life and we would like to use this experience. Bulgaro-Soviet relations have good prospects in the future. Both countries are determined to develop their relations in all fields. This is the inference made from the meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. It is necessary to find new forms of cooperation, to promote direct contacts with the Soviet republics and to exchange products of labour which are up to the level of the best world standards.

Answering a question about the restructuring in Bulgaria, Mr Mladenov said that Bulgaria will firmly go

along the road of democracy and pluralism of opinions and not only of opinions at that. The forthcoming plenum of the CC of the BCP will make an assessment of the situation in the country in all fields and will outline a practical one-year programme for stabilization and settlement of the pressing problems of the country's development. It will not be easy, as many complicated problems have piled up and it will be necessary to make serious efforts for solving them, he said.

Speaking about the relations with Turkey, Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that Bulgaria is willing to maintain good relations with all her neighbours, Turkey included. There are some problems between Bulgaria and Turkey, but Bulgaria wishes that they be solved by peaceful means, through seeking such solutions which would guarantee the conditions for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations between them. The Bulgarian leader expressed his conviction in the good future of Bulgaro-Turkish relations, having in mind their present real situation.

Mr Mladenov announced that on behalf of the CC of the BCP he had extended an invitation to Mr Mikhail Gorbachev to visit Bulgaria which was accepted with gratitude.

Talks With Gorbachev

AU0612074889 Sofia BTA in English 2057 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 5 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, who was in Moscow on a brief working visit, had a meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev greeted Mr Petur Mladenov with his election to the high posts in the party and the state, wished successes to the changes started in Bulgaria. The acceleration of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria will help the deepening of the mutual openness and trust in the relations between the two parties and states and will be an additional stimulus for the development of the traditional Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation, of the friendship between the two peoples.

Petur Mladenov spoke of the dynamic process underway in Bulgaria at present. The concept declared in the past about the further development of socialism has not given real results because the command-administrative system remained the same, the new mechanisms for the solution of the qualitatively new problems was not put into operation, there was a discrepancy between words and deeds. The important thing is that the party found forces in itself to put an end to this, to undertake the road toward radical organizational and political changes.

At present the most important task is to develop the economy with a view to the needs of the people, of the interests of the individual. It can be solved only under the condition that all sides of the state and public life are democratized, that glasnost and pluralism of opinions are developed. The BCP sees its role in this, together with all other public organizations to provide unflinching movement on the road of innovation of socialism.

Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that this aim can be followed only through the creation of active mechanisms for direct inclusion of the people's masses in the government of the social processes. Our experience has proved this, said Gorbachev. If we had not included the reform of the political system in the general idea for revolutionary changes the restructuring should have been grasping for breath long ago, said he. Further on Gorbachev said that the chief guarantee for the restructuring is the real people's power, the working people should undertake the responsibility of managers for the condition of the things in the enterprises, in the region, in all spheres of public and state life.

The restructuring, said Gorbachev is a complex, entire system of logical interrelated measures. If something starts slipping in economy, politics, glasnost, democratization, national relations the positive changes in other spheres will also start slipping. Thus we set the task for strict delimiting of the functions of the party and state bodies. But if the party relieves itself of these functions that means that the soviets must undertake them. If we want to go on the road of decentralization of economy that means that the administrative relations which supported it till the present must be changed by contract-based relations.

Nowadays the restructuring includes all spheres of the life of society in practice, it encounters with a number of comprehensive problems, said Mikhail Gorbachev. But we are convinced that we will take it to a successful end. It will have enormous importance not only for the Soviet society, for the innovation of socialism but for the entire humane civilization.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people Petur Mladenov expressed full support to the Soviet restructuring and stressed his intention to use the experience accumulated by it till the present, taking into consideration the conditions in Bulgaria.

He spoke of the preparation for the regular plenum of the CC of the BCP and the session of the National Assembly, where assessment of the situation will be made and practical steps for the near future will be outlined.

The leaders of the two parties assessed optimistically the prospects for development of the Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation. Big positive experience has been accumulated here and in the new conditions there is opportunity for enhancement of the interaction in all directions economy, politics, international work on the base of full equality, mutual advantage and friendly solidarity.

Discussing the situation in the world Petur Mladenov greeted the positive results of the Gorbachev-Bush summit

and expressed conviction that it will have great influence on the development of the international events.

The two sides reiterated their common views concerning the prospects for healing of the situation in Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean included.

The talk passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

On behalf of the CC of the CPSU dinner was given in honor of Mr Petur Mladenov. It was attended by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr Lev Zaykov, Mr Vadim Medvedev, Mr Aleksandr Yakovlev and other officials.

Mr Peter Mladenov returned to Bulgaria today.

Mladenov Heads Home

AU0512173089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] At this moment, Comrade Petur Mladenov is on his way to Sofia from Moscow where, as you know, he had been on a working visit to the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. At the airport in Moscow, he was seen off by Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Leaders Welcome Mladenov

AU0512195989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, has returned from Moscow. He led the Bulgarian delegation at the meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states, at which Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the representatives of the allied countries on the results of his talks with U.S. President George Bush.

After this meeting, Comrade Petur Mladenov stayed for a working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was accompanied by Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov.

The welcoming group at Sofia Airport included Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Mincho Yovchev, Nacho Papazov, Pencho Kubadinski, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stanishev, Ivan Stanev, and Prodan Stoyanov; Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; and Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria.

Atanasov Receives USSR Nuclear Safety Chief

AU2911200489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov today received Vadim Malyshev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and Atomic Power Industry.

They exchanged information on the general inspection being carried out in Bulgaria on the nuclear safety of the No. 5 Power Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. A number of problems were touched upon relating to the safety of the nuclear power industry of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, such as radioactive waste, the turnover in cadres, and the standard of their professional training.

During the conversation, special attention was paid to intensifying the joint activity of the two countries' control organs, as well as to the prospects for developing the atomic power industry.

CSSR Embassy Officials on Trade Difficulties

AU0412220489 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Mr Viliam Strieska, an attache at the trade representation of Czechoslovakia in Bulgaria, told a a news conference here today that a slowdown is likely in the commercial exchanges between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia next year.

According to the diplomat, the scarcity of Bulgarian goods selling well on the Czechoslovak market is mainly to blame for the likelihood of two-way trade falling short of its usual 940 million ruble mark next year.

Mr Strieska said that the countertrade has registered an imbalance this year, with Bulgaria's 54 million deficit expected to increase by the end of the year. He said that Bulgaria (which specializes in manufacturing electric and ice trucks within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) underutilizes the marketability of its industrial trucks in Czechoslovakia. In Mr Strieska's words, by the year's end, the delivery of Bulgarian-made industrial trucks will be some 400 items short of the contract target.

Bilateral trade will continue to be dominated by barter deals and by other "goods-for-goods" forms of trade typical of the CMEA. This revival of forms of trade characteristic of ages past will retain its predominant position in the foreseeable future in Bulgaro-Czechoslovak trade, too, which uses transferable rubles to settle its accounts, said Mr Jan Svechlik, an expert who attended the news conference.

Both Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria seek convertibility for their national currencies. As to when they will be able to achieve it, it depends on their economic performance, Mr Viliam Strieska said.

Trade Protocol for 1990 Signed With GDR

AU0412170589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] A protocol for the exchange of goods and payments for 1990 was signed between Bulgaria and the GDR at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Mladenov Greets Alia on Albania National Day

AU0412185289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Petur Mladenov, State Council chairman, has sent a greetings message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the 45th anniversary of the liberation from fascism and capitalism and the victory of the socialist revolution in Albania, that expresses cordial greetings and sincere wishes for successes along the road of Socialist Albania's prosperity and development.

Confidence is expressed that relations between the two countries will continue to develop along an ascending line, in the traditional spirit of friendship and confidence, and in the interests of the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples and peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

Khristov Meets Andreotti in Italy

AU2411110289 Sofia BTA in English 2231 GMT 23 Nov 89

["Bulgaro-Italian Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, November 23 (BTA corr.)—Italy's Prime Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti, received Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria.

On behalf of Bulgaria's State Council President Mr Petur Mladenov, Mr Khristov conveyed a written message to the leader of the Italian Government. The message expresses the desire and readiness of Bulgaria to activate and deepen in a friendly spirit the cooperation and relations with Italy in all spheres of the socioeconomic life. Mr Giulio Andreotti conveyed to the Bulgarian state leader, a friend of his and a long-year colleague, wishes for success in the restructuring and for broadening of the democratization in Bulgaria. The Italian prime minister expressed also hope to meet soon Mr Petur Mladenov and to continue with him the dialogue in interest of the peoples of the two countries.

Mr Khristo Khristov acquainted his host with the course of the restructuring, with the latest changes in Bulgaria, which create considerable preconditions for activation of the already good bilateral relations. Mr Giulio Andreotti stressed that Italy follows with sympathy the present processes in Bulgaria and is ready to deepen the economic cooperation with it. It was pointed out that a real contribution to this will be given by the agreement signed here today for granting of 200 million US dollars for subsidizing of the Italian exporters for Bulgaria.

The credit will be used for subsidizing of those Italian companies which develop progressive forms of economic relations with Bulgarian companies: establishing of joint enterprises, joint investments, etc. More concretely the credit will be used for the deepening of the cooperation in metallurgy, in the construction of highways and airports, telephone centrals, in the sphere of electronics, food and light industry, etc.

In the first seven months of this year the Bulgarian export for Italy has grown by 32 per cent, and Italy's—by 33.2 per cent.

Mr Reanto Ruggiero, minister of foreign trade of Italy, stressed that Italy is interested in Bulgaria's entering into GATT and in her strengthening of the relations with the EC. He also expressed the readiness of his country to cooperate in the training of Bulgarian managing personnel for the industry and the credit system.

The minister of foreign economic relations and the delegation headed by him had a meeting with managers and representatives of leading Italian concerns which cooperate with Bulgarian companies. Agreements between Bulgarian and Italian companies for the establishing of joint companies were signed.

Rumors of Todor Zhivkov's Death Denied

AU0512155989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 49, 4 Dec 89 p 3

[POGLED editorial note: "People Are Saying....Is Todor Zhivkov Alive?"]

[Text] Rumors are spreading in our country that Todor Zhivkov, former general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee [BCP], has allegely suffered a coronary, or that he has even died, but that the fact is being kept secret for political reasons. Our editorial board has received numerous letters and telephone calls on the subject. In order to satisfy our readers' legitimate interest in the fate of the man with whom so many sinister pages of our country's history are connected, a journalist from POGLED asked a responsible representative of the BCP Central Committee Politburo to clarify this question.

The answer was brief, but categorical: "Todor Zhivkov is alive and well."

Lukanov Talks of Future 'Free Elections'

AU0512195789 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Lukanov: BCP Does Not Pretend for Monopoly Over Power"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The prestige of one political party cannot be built on provisions of the law, said Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], at a meeting with students and lecturers in Sofia University. To this answer of the question about his attitude to the article in the Constitution which guarantees the leading role of the BCP, he added: The rest is the work of the parliament.

You will not wait too long. We do not pretend for a monopoly over the Bulgarian political life.

Andrey Lukanov expressed conviction that free elections are forthcoming. He said that the parliamentary group of the BCP will introduce in the National Assembly proposals for a system of measures guaranteeing the democratization of this country. He said they will include the separation of the functions of the party from those of the state.

He confirmed the opinion expressed at the meeting about the need of broad personnel changes which "must be carried out throughout the whole party."

To a question about the introduction of the mandate principle he answered: It's a matter that should not be delayed.

Mr Andrey Lukanov stood in favour of an overall legislative reform, for separation of the legislative, executive and judicial power.

Procession to Petition National Assembly

AU0612091089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] As we have been informed by the Sofia City People's Council, the Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values has announced to the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee its intention to organize a religious procession on 7 December at 1600 Bulgarian time in Sofia to submit a petition to the National Assembly.

People's Meetings, Demonstrations Noted

AU0512175389

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 4 December on page 2, under the headline "Meetings in the Country" carries 5 reports totaling 900 words, on informal public meetings throughout the country.

The first is a 80-word report from Tolbukhin, signed by Nikolay Zhelev, "oblast correspondent," and Diyana Raynova, "municipal correspondent," on a public meeting, which took place in Tolbukhin, at which "an initiative committee proposed to restore the former name of the city—Dobrich." The appeal has been supported by "hundreds of Tolbukhin citizens."

The second is a 100-word report from Plovdiv, signed by Stefan Severin, "oblast correspondent." Severin reports on the "constituent meeting of the 'Ecoglasnost' non-profitable regional association," at which a charter and program have been adopted and an administrative board elected. According to the report "the association is a judicial entity, and it does not have political goals and tasks."

The third is a 300-word report from Vidin, signed by Ninko Gruev, "oblast correspondent." Gruev reports "a meeting attended by many thousands of people, convened in the 'Festivalna' Hall by the 'Citizens' Conscience' Independent Club." According to him "the program declaration of the club points out that the club is not a political organization, but a movement of similarly thinking people." It is also pointed out that "'Citizens' Conscience' supports the processes of renewal that are taking place throughout the country. Simultaneously, the club will strive to assert humane elements in society and dismount the bureaucratic-command system of management." Speakers at the meeting, which lasted "more than 3 hours," demanded "total democracy and pluralism of opinions," and demanded to seek legal responsibility from "corrupted leaders." In addition, "they pointed out many examples of distortions, corruption, unfounded decisions, and abuse of power in Vidin."

The fourth is a 150-word report from Mikhaylovgrad, signed by Neofit Petkov, "oblast correspondent." Petkov reports a meeting at Gorna Kremena, "the native village of Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party," at which his rehabilitation was demanded by the participants. In addition, "the participants spontaneously supported the initiative to initiate a fund for constructing a monument for Ivan Todorov, who perished under unclear circumstances," and demanded "to review the Supreme Court case No. 2 of June 1965, against Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, Tsolo Krustev, Tsvetko Anev, Ivan Velchev, and their other collaborators, and establish the truth."

The fifth is a 270-word report from Burgas, signed by Tsanko Raychev, "oblast correspondent." Raychev reports "meetings in Burgas with the participation of many thousands of people, at which the most pressing social issues, which require immediate solution, have been posed," the construction of the city's surgical hospital being one of them. The acceleration of the hospital's construction was demanded by the "members of the '19 November Club,' spontaneously formed at the meeting."

The date on which the aforementioned meetings and demonstrations took place is not pointed out in any of the reports.

Groups Hold Public Rally in Stara Zagora

AU0512134189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 89 p 2

[Report by Vanyo Stoilov, Stara Zagora Oblast correspondent: "Rallies Following the Silence, But Who Understands Democracy, and How Is it Understood"]

[Text] Stara Zagora, 2 December— "A rally, organized by informal associations and free citizens," this is what the organizers of today's rally called their initiative. Approximately 10,000 people, the majority of them prompted by simple curiosity, gathered at the rally on the cycling track, near the railroad station.

The rally lasted over 4 hours. The citizens became acquainted with the platforms of various informal associations in Stara Zagora. It is difficult to briefly summarize the demands voiced at the rally, however, some speakers rejected everything achieved since 9 September 1944 and certain blatant, antisocialist statements could also be heard. There was much talk about democracy, but it was visibly understood only in one direction—namely as erosion of socialism and undermining the authority of the Communist Party. Thus, for example, former journalist Georgi Spasov, member of the national council of the Podrepa independent trade union, tried to convince his audience that all Communists are responsible for the country's situation because they supported totalitarianism, and that the entire people are guilty because they not only tolerated, but also applauded this state of affairs.

How do some people understand democracy—this question was answered at today's rally. We heard enough general accusations, but also personal attacks, however, the floor was not given to the "defendants." This did not prevent Dr Konstantin Trenchev from proclaiming that "they have no other arguments than gross violence." Can such statements be really taken seriously?

Two resolutions were voted upon during the rally. One was addressed to the National Assembly chairman and to the mass media, and the other to the Stara Zagora Municipal People's Council. They contain requests for democratization of society and specific proposals to the municipal authorities. Unfortunately, the organizers of the rally could not spare even one copy of the resolutions for the RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter, as a result of which I am not in a position to quote them.

University Abolishes Marxism-Leninism Exam

AU0612085389 Sofia BTA in English
0742 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—The Academic Council of the "Kliment Okhridski" University of Sofia decided to cancel the state final certification examination in Marxism-Leninism for all specialties. The examination in State-Administrative Law at the Faculty of Law is also abolished.

The change was made at the request of University students.

In few days there will be meetings of all faculty deans with students at which the educative plans for all specialties will be discussed in detail.

The decision of the Academic Council is considered the first important step to autonomy of the oldest Bulgarian higher education establishment.

Sofia Students Criticize Komsomol Leadership

AU0512192589 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Students Criticize DKMS Leadership"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—We are dissatisfied with the position of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS) at the moment, said at a press conference today Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the University Committee of the DKMS at Sofia University. We expected the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the DKMS held on November 21 to assess the situation in the country and propose an alternative for bringing the Young Communist League out of its present situation.

The University Committee is for convening an extraordinary congress of the DKMS the soonest possible. It declares itself to be against the existence of the Young Communist League as a state organization for cultivating communist ideals in the young generation and insists on its being transformed into a youth movement of people sharing the same political views.

A few days ago the University Committee came out with a political declaration. It states the students' demands for a civic society, law-abiding state and radical economic reform; for the solution of problems related to young people's living conditions; for granting autonomy to the university, etc. The declaration expresses readiness for joint action with all interested associations.

The declaration is considered an open platform, after the discussion of which the political programme of the university DKMS organization will be worked out.

Student Group Demands Educational Reforms

AU0412211789 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] One of the first specific actions of the Independent Students Association, established on 13 November at the Sofia Kliment Okrhridski University, is the persistent demand for a broad discussion of amendements and addenda to the Code on the Application of the Law on Higher Education.

The members of the association think that it is urgently required to observe the students' interests and requests much more carefully.

Their colleagues from the Law Faculty have thoroughly analyzed the document and have already submitted definite proposals on amendments.

Following the debates at a forthcoming general meeting of independent students' associations, including nearly 4,000 members from over 20 higher educational institutions in our country, the demands shall be summed up in a petition expected to be submitted to the National Assembly.

Satirical Weekly Mocks Politburo Member Yotov

AU0612082389 Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Petur Neznakomov note: "A Jocular Proposal"]

[Text] A letter containing a single proposal has been received by our Editorial Board. It reads: "Comrade Yordan Yotov, who led the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, should ask for political asylum in the Socialist Republic of Romania, where real communism has been constructed. Comrade Yotov can freely profess some of his ideas there."

Since the letter is anonymous, we sign it with P. Neznakomov.

Nuclear Chief on Radioactive Waste Problem

AU0212171589 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Kozloduy, December 2 (BTA)—Having in mind the limited natural resources in Bulgaria, the development of nuclear power generation has no other alternative, but the safety of the stations should be guaranteed and reliable, the specialists say. Speaking about the nuclear power station in Kozloduy, Engineer Kiril Nikolov, chairman of the Nuclear Power Generation Association, stated that the station in Kozloduy (on the bank of the Danube) has never been the cause for any radioactivity increase.

Samples, tests, surveillance and control show that the radioactive concentration is far below the admissible limit. In order to guarantee safe work in future, some serious problems will have to be solved. They are related to the qualification of the personnel and the technical condition of the equipment. The danger of accident will not lessened if the power generation units are not brought in line with present-day standards of nuclear and radioactive safety. Unit Five for example was put into operation with 170 remarks.

To the question how radioactive waste and nuclear fuel are stored, Mr Nikolov replied that according to the design special depositories for keeping radioactive waste for no more than five years were built, but now 15 years have passed since that time and no other depositories have been built. At the request of the Soviet Union nuclear fuel should be kept here for five years, that is why we had to construct a buffer depository and we can build others, but they will pose a threat to ecology, he said. An all-round concept should be worked out for the solution of this problem.

Regional Radioactivity Data Released

AU2811141789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Voice of Nature"]

[Text] The Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has provided the following data on the radiation situation in the country:

The following mean, daily specific-activity figures for the environment were established for the months of September and October 1989 at the country's testing stations, based on daily analyses made in the laboratories for "Measurement of the Radioactivity of Aid, Water, and Atmospheric Precipitation" [atmosferni otlaganiya] in the system of the "Hydrology and Meteorology" Main Administration under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Testing station	Air at Ground Level		
		(microbecquerels per cubic meter)	
	1989		1983-85
	Sep	Oct	Jan-Dec
Sofia	2.9	2.8	1.0-3.0
Plovdiv	7.3	9.7	0.1-7.2
Varna	5.6	4.8	0.1-13.4
Burgas	2.7	2.5	0.0-4.8
Pleven	2.7	2.4	1.0-7.2
		Atmospheric Deposits	
		(becquerels per square meter)	
	1989		1983-85
	Sep	Oct	Jan-Dec
Sofia	1.4	1.3	0.4-1.3
Plovdiv	1.0	1.2	0.1-1.2
Varna	0.9	0.6	0.1- 0.2
Burgas	0.9	0.8	0.1-0.9
Pleven	0.3	0.3	0.1-1.3
		Precipitation	
		(becquerels per liter)	
	1989		1983-85
	Sep	Oct	Jan-Dec
Sofia	1.1	1.0	0.1-2.0
Plovdiv	8.7	2.1	0.2-1.4
Varna	0.5	0.7	0.1-1.1
Burgas	0.1	0.2	0.0-0.4
Pleven	0.4	0.2	0.0-2.0

The base used for comparison was the period from 1 January 1983 through 31 December 1985, for which the ranges of the mean annual values of the relevant quantities are shown.

In response to readers' inquiries, scientific worker Angel Antonov of the Hydrology and Meteorology Main Administration explains that the monthly data published in OTCHESTVEN FRONT includes figures for some of the largest towns in Bulgaria. The specialized laboratories produce several thousand sets of figures annually,

and their publication in the mass media produces no positive result and is impossible in practice. For this reason, only that portion of the full volume of information has been selected that gives a most representative picture of the radioactive pollution in the regions where the bulk of our population live. The tables show the mean monthly values for radioactive pollution of technical origin, obtained after eliminating the contribution from natural radionuclides.

Against the background of the other values, one notices a marked increase in the figure for the activity in precipitated water from the town of Plovdiv. The rise was caused by the precipitation recorded on 28 September 1989, which had a specific activity of 9.8 becquerels per liter, and the fact that rainfall occurred on only 2 days in September.

Such an occurrence may be regarded as normal, because after a prolonged dry period the atmosphere becomes saturated with dust particles, which are effectively washed out of the air with the first rain. These dust particles are produced by being detached from the ground surface and becoming suspended in the atmosphere, in which they may travel for considerable distances before they are washed out of the air by the next rain.

For the time being, pollution from a local source is excluded, since on the same date most of the stations in southern Bulgaria recorded a slight rise in activity in rainwater, and there are no reports of accidents being recorded.

As the table shows, during October the specific activity values returned to normal and are close to the values in the period selected for comparison.

Energy Chief Questioned on Problems

AU2811144289 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Academician Professor Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energy Industry" Association, by Neyka Krusteva; date and place not given: "Will Tension Decrease in the Energy-Ecology Conflict"]

[Excerpts] [Krusteva] Today mankind cannot live without certain energy expenditures. However, the energy industry also has its "dark" sides. The production, refining, and combustion of fuels, and even the use of water as an energy source do not proceed without conflicts with nature. Can we meet our continuously rising "thirst" for energy and, at the same time, minimize pollution of the environment?

[Todoriev] In the development of our energy industry in the past we mainly paid attention to the question of quantity, that is, meeting our requirements. We now understand the ecological problems and have the possibilities to solve them. The national ecology program includes provisions for removing oxides of sulfur and nitrogen from the gases discharged from thermoelectric power plants, processing solid residues from coal combustion, restoring land for cultivation after the coal has been mined, preserving nature when constructing hydroelectric installations, and so on. So-called "primary" measures are already being taken to reduce the emissions of nitrogen oxides in our fuel systems. Experiments are also beginning on partially reducing emissions of oxides of sulfur. [passage omitted]

[Krusteva] Following the Chernobyl disaster, some people have been speaking out against the construction of nuclear electricity generating plants. Do any alternative plans for energy production exist?

[Todoriev] Even in the past some voices were raised against the nuclear energy industry. After the Chernobyl accident these voices became more critical and numerous. Much is said and written on these problems. Specialists who are not motivated by professional ambitions consider that there is no alternative to the nuclear energy industry during the next few decades. The question is how to increase the reliability of the nuclear power plants, and technical and technological solutions for this already exist. It is even stressed that this is the way to overcome the ecological problems in view of the great cleanliness of nuclear power stations in this respect. It is no accident that some European countries are continuing to build nuclear power capacities, while others, albeit at reduced rates, are continuing to generate a high proportion of their electric power from nuclear power plants. For example, France generates over 70 percent of its electric power in nuclear power plants, and Belgium almost 60 percent.

Our country does not possess sufficient primary energy resources of its own. Almost two-thirds of our energy resources are imported. This is why the development of the nuclear power industry is essential from both economic and ecological considerations, let alone in order to preserve a measure of independence in the energy field, which is itself of no small importance.

[Krusteva] Much has been said recently about nontraditional sources of energy—the sun, geothermal springs, the wind, and so on....

[Todoriev] I fear that I have to disillusion you. During the next 20-30 years these sources are hardly likely to provide more than 4-5 percent of our energy consumption. The reasons for this are economic, technical, and technological. However improbable it may seem to you, the utilization of non-traditional energy sources also gives rise to certain ecological problems, and the available amounts of such resources pose another question of importance. Bulgaria's theoretical hydroelectric energy potential is about 12 billion kilowatt-hours, whereas we use about 50 billion kilowatt-hours annually. It would be impossibly expensive to harness the whole of this potential. Our land contains very few regions where wind velocities exceed 4-5 meters per second. It is therefore unfeasible to rely on wind power, except for small local needs. If the potential of our geothermal waters is

utilized, we will obtain energy equivalent to between 300,000 and 900,000 tons of conventional fuel, yet our annual requirements are already about 50 million tonnes. However, despite this, I am profoundly convinced that we must work steadily and persistently toward making use of the non-traditional sources of energy, especially solar energy. [passage omitted]

Workers' Trade Union Declares Independence

AU0412221289 Sofia BTA in English 1637 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—The leadership of one of the country's largest trade union federations—that of mechanical engineering workers—was the first to seek a dialogue with the shop floor after a plenum of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions declared the independence of the organisation.

The federation's leadership met with delegates of the 400,000 mechanical engineering workers employed in Sofia and in the other big cities. Mr Doycho Dinev, head of the federation, told a BTA reporter that the mistrust of the trade unions was evident at those meetings. In his view, there is still no decline in union membership but this may well happen.

He said this is due to the trade union's failure to invoke the extensive rights they have been granted so far. They had the right to initiate legislation but never used it except when they introduced the Labor Code draft. The independence they enjoyed under the law so far was infringed by party and state bodies. A true guarantee of this independence would be the elimination of the outside-appointed "trade union nomenklatura".

Regional Club for Glasnost Announces Programs

AU0412212389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The regional club in support of glasnost and restructuring in Plovdiv announced its program at a news conference today. The program contains the following 3 basic postulates: economic liberalism, political pluralism, and spiritual tolerance.

So far about 70 distinguished representatives of the Plovdiv intelligentsia have joined this club. They intend to struggle to solve their city's specific problems with democratic methods and means. The club has assumed the task of transforming glasnost and democracy into the norms and nature of Bulgarian society.

Sofia's Prisoners Told of Upcoming Law Changes

AU2811213389 Sofia BTA in English 2035 GMT 28 Nov 89

["Demands for Restructuring of the Legal System"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—A meeting was held today at the Sofia Prison between representatives of the Legislative Commission at the National Assembly, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Human Rights Committee and the capital city mass media and prisoners.

The prisoners insisted upon changes in the legislation, acceleration of inquiries and consideration of cases which have already been formed, changes of the measure "detention in custody" of the accused.

In reply it was stressed that restructuring in this country comprises the legal system, too. Work is being done related with many of the raised issues and some humanitarian matters will be discussed at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

Prison Strikes in Stara Zagora, Pazardzhik

AU0412120589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 89 p 6

[Report by Nikola Dinkov and Asparukh Georgiev: "Strikes in Prisons"]

[Text] Stara Zagora, 1 December, (BTA)—On 28 October, about 500 prisoners in Stara Zagora Prison, serving sentences of various lengths, announced a strike. They demanded a review of their cases, the penal premises, and the judicial procedure. They also demanded improved conditions in the prison.

Most of the prisoners had already ended their strike on the 2d day.

Pazardzhik, 2 December— Some of the prisoners in Pazardzhik Prison announced a hunger strike and requested a meeting with mass media representatives. They handed their demands, which amount to changing certain paragraphs of the Penal-Procedure Code and the Law on Serving Penalties, to the prison administration. In essence, those demands coincide with demands already presented by prisoners in other prisons.

After receiving assurances from a prosecutor from the Okrug Prosecution Office and the prison commander that their demands will be conveyed to the competent organs, the prisoners ended their strike.

Bobovdol Town, 1 December—The situation normalized after the talks between representatives of the Bobovdol Prison administration, the leadership of the "Bobovdol" Economic Mining and Power Complex, the Prosecutor's Office, and the group of striking prisoners. This afternoon, 23 of the prisoners who were at the underground electric station still refused to leave the premises of the mine. In the evening, two of them, and afterward, six more, ended their hunger strike. It was expected that the last 15 striking prisoners would end their strike during the night and will return to their prison cells.

Mikhaylovgrad Constituents Reject V. Zhivkov

AU0512142589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Since his election as National Assembly deputy for the 134th election district in Mikhaylovgrad (1986) to this day, Vladimir Zhivkov has not shown any interest in his constituency and has failed to carry any of the assignments entrusted to him, as a result of which he has lost the confidence of his voters. For this reason, and on the basis of Article 81, paragraphs 1,2, and 3 of the Election Law and the Law on National Assembly Deputies, the party and sociopolitical forces in Mihaylovgrad submitted a well-founded proposal to the Fatherland Front National Council and to the State Council to release Vladimir Zhivkov from his functions as National Assembly deputy.

Newspaper Defends Socialist, Communist Ideals

AU0512170389 Sofia BTA in English 1418 GMT 5 Dec 89

["In Protection of the Ideal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—Gencho Uzunov makes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO today "an attempt to protect the ideal". His broad article backs the thesis that the communist ideal: a society of freedom, fraternity, equality before the law, prosperity, and the way to it are not subject to doubts. The author indicates many of the shortages in the present day life and holds the opinion that "fatal errors can be made in all societies, political systems and regimes, and they are a result of economic policy and organization."

The article rejects the opinions that the communist ideal is unrealizable. He declares himself against those who "raise their voices against the leading role" of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. "Which is the party that has come to power and has not a leading role? ...Does this mean that all other parties can have a leading role while the Communist Party can't?" Gencho Uzunov writes.

He objects to the arguments that the socialist system has allowed the appearance of personalities like Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot opposing them to Hitler, Mussolini, Pinochet. [sentence as received] "The system, whatever it might be, is created, backed and used by concrete people," thinks the author, according to whom the blame or praise should refer to the concrete people.

Atanasov, Other Leaders Meet With Workers

AU2511152389 Sofia BTA in English 2225 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], met today with the working team of the Balmo Company in the town of Lovech. Alongside with the firm support which the workers of this machine-building enterprise expressed to the new course of the party, they spoke of their concern about the blatant attempts of certain circles in the country to use the present situation for discrediting and attacking the BCP and socialism.

Mr Andrey Lukanov said that the party and the people should give a well-deserved answer to all extremist and revenge-seeking initiatives, but that the struggle with them in the conditions of democracy should not be led by the old methods.

In reply to the questions posed by a young worker Mr Andrey Lukanov said that the real warrants for the party not to repeat the former mistakes are the democratization and restructuring of the inner party life, as well as the democratization of the whole social system. Socialism and democracy are inseparable, he said.

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Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with the workers at the Druzhba plant in the town of Varna.

It is most important now that we ourselves create such conditions which would not allow manifestations of authoritarianism not only in the party but in the whole of society. We need a style of a dialogue, of ability to listen to each other, to convince with sensibility and truth, Mr Georgi Atanasov said.

During the talks urgent social issues were raised: about the small pensions, the small paid leave, whether currency pharmacies were of any use when the working people got their salaries in local money, of the designation of currency shops. We are hopeful that the first step coincides with our landmark but time should pass for our faith to be gained back, one of the workers said.

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In the town of Stara Zagora, Mr Mincho Yovchev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technologies, met with the workers of the Disc Memory Units Company. They discussed a wide range of issues in a frank dialogue: the obstacles in the production, the shortage in the social base of the company, the problems of the country's development.

Questions were asked about how the bureaucratic apparatus in the state and party system will be done away with and why are the country's debts so large.

Mr Mincho Yovchev explained that the debts were made from the imports of cereals, alimentary products, technologies and machinery.

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Mr Panteley Pachov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and first secretary of the party regional committee in Plovdiv, met today with the Association of Plovdiv Writers: the largest association of the union outside the capital city.

The participants raised the issue that even today after the November plenums of the CC of the BCP there are still leaders of the party apparatus, from the publishing houses and the editorials who grossly censor and screen publicistic materials, born from the breath of renewal.

The ideas of openness and democracy, Mr Panteley Pachov said, will be firmly protected from the Politburo. Openness is truth pronounced unreservedly and not some insinuations. We will not reject everything which has been done so far but the truth will be told as early as in December. The basic requirement of democracy, he stressed is the real right of the different collectives and creative communities (the Writers Union included) for independence and collectiveness of the resolutions.

Yovchev, Stanishev Meet Workers in Provinces

AU2511135189 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—The largest company in this country, "Neftokhim" in the city of Burgas, was visited today by Mr Nacho Papazov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. In its meeting with him the labour team expressed its complete and selfless support to the resolutions of the November plenums of the CC of the BCP and the new course of the party and the state directed at restructuring, democracy and openness.

The talks raised a number of issues related to the social and living problems and a number of production difficulties. They approved the resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP to give some of the residences for meeting the social needs and expressed hopes that the processes of restructuring will continue and will bring in future to a real renewal in all spheres of socio-political life.

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In the town of Kyustendil Mr Dimitur Stanishev, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, met with the labour team of the Condenser-Building Technological Works.

The workers and experts who took the floor firmly supported the changes in this country.

The speakers opposed the former administrative and command methods of management. They spoke of the numerous reorganizations in the economic sphere, of the high-handed understanding and use of the company-based organization of economy which brought to failures for their team. Certain issues were also acutely raised which concern the population of the whole commune: the backwardness of the residential and public building, the lack of many goods in the market, the problems related to transport services and water supply, the environment protection.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev met with the artistic and creative intelligentsia of the town, too.

New Government Spokesman Discusses Job

AU2411151089 Sofia BTA in English
1126 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs an interview with the newly appointed spokesman of the government Mr Filip Bokov. The interview has been taken in his first working day on this job.

As far as I know, such an office has been established for the first time with our government, says Filip Bokov. The spokesman should inform regularly, completely and objectively the mass media, and through it the public will know how the country is governed, says he.

Filip Bokov notes that it is not by chance that such an office is established so shortly after the November plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The former period was characterized by lack of trust, and only when the decisions are "transparent" can there be trust, says government spokesman Bokov. He notes that "it is obvious that we would have to break the stereotypes of thinking which still exist, established during the long period of action of the command-administrative methods."

A government whose aim is to work in the conditions of real law-abiding state cannot be afraid of any question, says Filip Bokov in an answer to a question about his attitude to the so-called "awkward questions".

Urbanek Statement on Moscow Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD0512200189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Esteemed listeners, I have only just received the following report:

Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, after the return of the Czechoslovak delegation from the meeting of Warsaw Pact member countries in Moscow today gave the following statement to representatives of the mass media:

[Begin Urbanek recording in Czech] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades!

As you know, in recent days in Moscow a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states was held. I attended it, together with Federal Premier Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

Our government officials will brief you about the results of the talks concerning the Czechoslovak state and its foreign policy. Allow me to brief you on the proceedings of a conversation which I and Comrade Adamec had with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and which concerned, in a prominent place, relations between our communist parties.

Comrade Gorbachev and other representatives of the CPSU were briefed in detail by us on the present situation in Czechoslovakia. We told them for what reasons and with what force the broad current of social criticism of administrative-bureaucratic methods of management of the society has developed; and what broad support the movement of working people and youth for democratic changes and renewal of socialism enjoys. We briefed them on how the new leadership of the party is acting in the present complex situation. We stressed that we are implementing a fundamental turn in the policy of the CPCZ. We are making efforts to rid the party of conservatism, and to enter the path of a struggle for a democratic and socialist society which will be a sequel to the democratic traditions of our people, the inspiration sources of the renewal process, and also the new initiatives connected with the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the course of our talks we also dealt with the tragic events of August 1968—on which, at the Moscow meeting, an official stand was adopted by leading representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and the Soviet Union.

They said that the entry of their troops into Czechoslovakia was an unjustified intervention in our internal affairs, and condemned it resolutely.

We jointly stated that, just as the new leadership of the CPCZ, which condemned the troops' entry in its draft Action Program as unfounded and erroneous decision, so the CPSU holds a view that it was an interference in our country's internal affairs, which is incompatible with the norms of relations between sovereign states. It has had long-term unfavorable consequences, both for development in our country and for the entire international comunist and progressive movement. It will be necessary to carry out a thorough historical analysis of the causes, proceedings and consequences of these events. Even today we can draw the first, necessary practical conclusions.

First of all, as is stated in the draft Action Program, the new leadership of the CPCZ identifies fully with inspiration sources of the Prague Spring 1968. We consider invalid the document "Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development," which justified the liquidation of the reform efforts and the gradual renewal of bureaucratic methods of management after the year 1968. We are in favor of a full political rehabilitation of all those who, for their disagreement with the entry of the troops, have been forced to leave the party. We offer our hand to them. We appeal to them for cooperation in the interests of developing a democratic, socialist society.

Together with Comrade Gorbachev we have also expressed a firm will to continue to deepen further the comradely cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ on the basis of equality, and solidarity.

Both sides will assert the principle of sovereignty and independence of every country and noninterference in its internal affairs. Both sides will support the development, and equal and mutually advantageous economic and political cooperation between our countries, which is of a permanent and fundamental importance for Czechoslovakia. In our opinion this is an irreplaceble guarantee of the security of our borders, and the position of our country in the postwar European arrangement, above all, making the Munich agreement void. In the broad context of the European peace process and relations between the East and West, we also talked about other important questions, including the stationing of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. It has been agreed that the relevant state organs will hold talks about them, and this from the point of view of ensuring the same security and inviolability of borders of European states, including Czechoslovakia.

Both sides will support the course of the Helsinki process, whose success will help overcome the military division of Europe and thus also solve the question of the stay of foreign troops on the territory of individual states.

We also exchanged views on the stormy processes of the renewal of socialism which are taking place in the individual socialist countries. We agreed that they have been evoked by the necessity of overcoming the consequences of deformations of socialism, reviving its humanistic spirit and democratic essence. We are jointly convinced that in this form socialism will demonstrate its ability to renew itself and will win the support of broad popular masses.

I shall not talk in detail about internal affairs today. I will return to them in the next few days. I only want to stress that from the point of view of the results of the summit talks it is obvious that our current events must be seen and understood also in the all-European context. Without it, the democratization movement in our country would be unthinkable. This only supports the demand for all the forces on our political scene to respect the joint interests of East and West, so that European stability might be secured and a balance of interests respected, so that no upheavals—which would jeopardize the hopeful Helsinki process—might take place. This requires consistently adhering to the principle of the current crisis being solved by political means, by means of a dialogue, while respecting the principles of political culture and the necessary tolerance.

We must all contribute toward preventing confrontation, chaos, and disruption, and strive for national understanding. Everybody bears his share of responsibility for fighting off extreme trends of all kinds, so that there is no threat to people and property, smooth running of production, supplies and services to the population.

We are of the opinion that the most important thing today is to lead the country out of the crisis, onto the path of a peaceful life, in the spirit of democracy and socialism, as it has been expressed in the draft Action Program which was published by the new leadership of the party recently. I should like to assure you that the new leadership of the CPCZ is proceeding in this spirit and will also do so in the future, although attempts do occur from time to time to cast doubts on the honesty of our intentions by means of various doubtful leaflets. Our practical policies are evidence of our determination consistently to follow the new path which we have selected. We are convinced that the ideals of socialism have been firmly rooted in our society and have today—and will have in future—in their renewed form, the support of the overwhelming majority of our people. [end recording]

Austria Abolishes CSSR Visa Requirement

LD0112170789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1605 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] It is 1705 [1605 GMT], and you are listening to Studio Seven. Here is a news item:

Austria decided today to abolish the visa requirement for Czechoslovak citizens with immediate effect.

Thousands Take Advantage

LD0512181289 Prague CTK in English 1414 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 5 (CTK)—Some 3,000 citizens crossed the Czechoslovak-Austrian border in Petrzalka on the first day of the valid decision on visa-free travels for Czechoslovak people to Austria.

From midnight till 1000 GMT today more than 4,000 people left for a trip to Austria and their number is still increasing. This is also connected with the possibility to exchange hard currency in Czechoslovak banks up to a value of 500 crowns.

Citizens Cross Border, Return

LD0612021789 Prague CTK in English 1926 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 5 (CTK)—Some 5,300 Czechoslovak citizens crossed the borders with Austria in Bratislava-Petrzalka by 1500 GMT today.

No extraordinary misdemeanours were reported. The majority of the people who visited Austria said that the prices of attractive products are too high for them. Comparing some kinds of consumer goods they said that they can be bought in Czechoslovakia as well at much lower prices.

Part of Border With Austria To Be Removed

LD0512223689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] On the basis of the Federal Government's resolution, the federal minister of interior has decided today to remove some of the engineering road blocks on specified sections of the state border with Austria. At issue are the sections where this is required because of the increase in tourism and contacts between the border areas, while at the same time retaining the necessary defense requirements. The removal of the road blocks will start on 11 December and will be completed on 31 December this year.

Jakes Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov Events

LD0612142289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central committee, asked the CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AGENCY to publish the following personal statement:

I fully deny political responsibility for the events of 17 November of this year because the political decision was that order-keeping forces were not to intervene against the participants in the demonstrations. Any other claim is false and follows political objectives.

National Academy of Sciences Presidium Resigns

LD0612151789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1430 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Presidium resigned at its emergency session in Prague today. At the same time, it approved the draft composition of the body, which will control the academy until a new law on the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences is drafted. The Presidium also discussed a rehabilitation

procedure for all employees of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences persecuted for political reasons in the past.

CPCZ Press Conference Opens in Prague

LD0512201289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] A press conference opened in the press center of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] in Prague about an hour and a half ago. Miroslav Kaiser reports on its program:

[Kaiser] The spokesman Josef Hora first of all briefed those present on yesterday's session of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee. It decided that the delegates to the extraordinary congress be elected at district conferences. At the same time, the presidium recommended not to hold regional conferences.

The leadership of the party has asked the government of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to recall those of our officials in foreign diplomatic services who are of retirement age. The presidium then complied with the request of secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Otto Liska, to be relieved of the post.

Jan Siroky, head of a department of the party's Central Committee, addressed today's press conference next. He is responsible for the further working out of the action program. According to Comrade Siroky, the action program is a draft viewpoint of the CPCZ Central Committee on today's situation and, at the same time, a platform for the revival of the CPCZ from below. The action program depicts the idea of how the party wants to progress in the future and how the CPCZ imagines its place in our society at the moment. It is not only repainting the facade, as various leaflets are trying to prove, but accomplishing a principle turnover; and actual steps should be made now.

What is involved is a document which ties in with the revival process in 1968 and will be worked out and adopted at the extraordinary Congress of the CPCZ.

Communist-Party-in-TV Meeting Issues Statement

LD0512204689 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Today's enterprise conference of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Czechoslovak television recommended its primary party organizations to end their activity.

Czechoslovak Communist Party members will in the future carry on political work in the same conditions as other political parties and movements.

The delegates expressed the opinion that Czechoslovak television is a government institution on whose ground no political party and association, besides the trade union organization, can engage in political activity.

The conference recommended the Czechoslovak Government to declare a new status of Czechoslovak television in which the activity of political parties and movements on its ground will be defined. at the same time it recommended the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee to convene an extraordinary party congress by December 20.

Premier Adamec, Civic Forum Hold Talks

Urban Prepares for Talks

LD0512025289 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—Preparatory talks on the next meeting between Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec and representatives of the Civic Forum due to be held in the coming days took place here today.

The talks at which the representatives of the Civic Forum submitted their plans and demands to be dealt with at the meeting were attended by the first Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban and representatives of the Civic Forum Sasa Vondra and Michael Kocab.

Adamec Meets With Forum

LD0512195789 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec today conducted intensive political talks with chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Bartoncik, Professor Vojtech Mencl and Cestmir Cisar from the Revival and with a delegation of the Civic Forum led by Vaclav Havel.

The two sides exchanged views on the composition of the Czechoslovak Government. Representatives of the Civic Forum pointed to the dissatisfaction of many citizens with the latest reconstruction of the government.

Ladislav Adamec stressed that immediately during the first negotiations of the government in its new composition, he assured the public about his intentions to continue to change the government.

The two sides will meet for talks tomorrow morning.

Adamec Receives Candidate List

LD0612131389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] A meeting between Ladislav Adamec and a delegation of the Civic Forum, led by Vaclav Havel, was held in Prague today.

In the course of the meeting, Ladislav Adamec heard Civic Forum proposals on possible candidates for the Federal Government. A Civic Forum delegation also promised that by Thursday morning it would make more proposals on possible candidates for the Federal Government.

Ladislav Adamec informed the Civic Forum representatives that he asked the leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic National Front to convene on Thursday at 1400 and said that he would inform the president of the Republic about the current political situation. He said that the next talks between the federal premier and Civic Forum representatives will probably be on Friday when he will have completed a draft on amending the Federal Government.

Czech Government Leaders Meet Civic Forum Group

LD0112230189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the Czech Government, represented by Premier Frantisek Pitra, First Deputy Premier Miroslav Toman, and Josef Mecl, chairman of the Legal and Constitutional Committee of the Czech National Council had talks in Prague today with representatives of the Coordination Center of Civic Forum: writer Vaclav Havel, political scientist Petr Pithart, film director Ivan Reimont, and Martin Klima, student of faculty of mathematics and physics of Charles University. Representatives of Civic Forum recalled their ideas about what tasks the Czech Government should set out in its program statement, in particular the amendment to the right of assembly and association, the solution of the problems of people's militia, party organization at workplaces and safeguarding the full freedom of the press.

Frantisek Pitra explained the effort of the government to be composed of competent personalities with high moral qualities, enjoying the trust of the broad public.

Czech National Front Presidium Holds Session

Supports Changes in Make-up

LD0412132189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Presidium of the National Front of the Czech Socialist Republic, expanded by representatives of all organizations affiliated in the National Front, discussed in Prague today, in the presence of Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra, the drafts of the changes in its composition.

The members of the Presidium voiced their support to proposed changes and put forward further proposals towards political stabilization.

Considers Resignations

LD0412133589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Correspondent Lubo Lidicky reports from a session of the Czech National Council Presidium:

[Lidicky] The Czech National Council presidium is convening with more than an hour delay for its extraordinary session according to Article 131, paragraph 1, of the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation. There is only one point on the agenda; the resignation of Deputy Czech Premier Jaroslav Tlapak, and some other government members.

These are:

Jaroslav Vavra, the minister of the construction and building industry;
Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth, and physical training;
Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture;
Jaroslav Prokopec, minister of health and social affairs;
Antonin Kaspar, minister of justice;
Vaclav Jirecek, minister of the interior and living environment;
Ondrej Vanek, minister of agriculture and food;
Karel Erbes, minister of trade and tourism;
Karel Loebl and Erich Sykora, ministers without portfolio;

Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra will put forward in a short while, after a discussion and with the agreement of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR a proposal for the appointment of new members of the Czech Government. We still do not have their names but shall inform you about them, if possible, in the next bulletin.

New Ministers' Appointment Delayed

LD0412133389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Editor Lubos Lidicky reports on Czech National Council Presidium session]

[Text] At 1300 [1200 GMT] I informed you about the preparations to reconstruct the Czech Socialist Republic government and about the consideration of the resignations of the majority of ministers. Their resignation was to be discussed by the Czech National Council Presidium and a new Czech government was to be appointed at the same time.

After more than 1 hour of discussion on proposed ministers for the new government, Premier Frantisek Pitra made this statement to the Czech National Council Presidium:

[Begin Pitra recording] (?Comrades I want to say that) we have worked intensively in keeping with our agreement at the Czech Central Committee on the National Front on reconstructing the government. The National

Front today has discussed what is in my view a fundamental reconstruction of the government. In my proposal the new government was to contain all in all three existing ministers. Representatives of all three political parties would become deputy premiers. It contained further cadre changes in which I took into consideration the viewpoints of political parties, of organizations affiliated in the National Front. I took into consideration the viewpoints of the coordination center of the Civic Forum of the general public in some fields.

We discussed matters with proposed comrades and brothers when I met the proposed candidates to the ministerial offices. However, in light of the general public's reaction to yesterday's nomination of the Federal Government, all of them asked me in unison to have more time to discuss the composition of the government which I am to propose to the Czech National Council. I therefore must start further discussions. I apologize to you.

It is really an extraordinary situation. I know that the session will be very, very demanding but may I ask you for understanding. I recommend that you give us time to talk and that the Czech National Council convene to discuss whatever is on its agenda and we convene to reconstruct the government later when I have made final agreements on these matters. I think that some ministries will remain unoccupied and will be waiting for us to complete matters and say: Yes these ministries will have ministers who are nonparty members. However, it looks like matters will have to be dealt with in detail and that they will have to be clarified and consulted mutually in detail. This is all I can say on these issues. [end recording]

So much for Frantisek Pitra. The Czech National Council chairman, after an agreement with the Czech premier, convened the next session of the presidium for tomorrow morning. This proposal was univocally adopted.

Pitra Submits New Government List

LD0512154589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] We are now going over to the building of the Czech National Council from where Lubos Lidicky will report on the extraordinary session of the Presidium of the highest Czech legislative body.

[Lidicky] The Czech National Council Presidium accepted at its 39th session the resignation of Jaroslav Tlapak, deputy prime minister of the Czech government, and the following ministers: Jaroslav Vavra; Jana Synkova; Milan Kymlicka; Jaroslav Prokopec; Antonin Kaspar; Vaclav Jirecek; Ondrej Vanek; Karel Erbes; Jan Motl; and Erich Sykora. This you will surely know from today's dailies.

Prime Minister Frantisek Pitra, after yesterday's dramatic talks when two ministerial seats were not yet filled, is presently submitting a proposal on the appointment of new members of the Czech Government. Discussions are going on, but he has proposed that the Czech National Council Presidium appoint the following personnel:

Petr (Mison), deputy prime minister of the Czech Government;
Antonin (Baudys), deputy prime minister;
Ludvik Motycka, minister of construction and building industry;
Milan Adam, minister of education, youth, and physical training;
Milan Lukes, minister of culture;
Pavel (Klener), minister of health and social affairs;
Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice;
Antonin Hrazdira, minister of the interior and environment;
Jan Vodehnal, minister of agriculture and food;
Vlasta Stepova, minister of trade and tourism;
Stanislav Kukral, minister—chairman of the Czech Committee of People's Control;
Bedrich Moldan, minister without portfolio.

You will certainly be interested in the political composition of the Czech Government, which is as follows: Eight members of the government, including the prime minister, are Czechoslovak Communist Party members; nine Czech ministers are members of other political parties—specifically, two ministers are members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, a deputy prime minister and minister of education, youth and physical training; two ministers are members of the Czechoslovak People's Party—a deputy prime minister and minister of construction and the building industry; and five ministers—minister of health and social affairs, minister of justice, minister of trade and tourism, minister-chairman of the committee of people's control, and minister without portfolio—are without political affiliation.

More on Composition of Government

LD0512132789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] An extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Czech National Council is today discussing a proposal on the appointment of members of the Czech Government. Lubos Lidicky reports directly from the venue of the meeting:

[Lidicky] You have heard about the resignation of Czech Government ministers from the daily press. A short while ago the Presidium accepted the resignation of individual ministers. Members of the Presidium have at this moment in front of them a proposal on the new Czech Government, submitted by Frantisek Pitra. The draft of the new government looks like this:

Miroslav Toman, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] member, first deputy prime minister;
Petr (Mison), member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, deputy prime minister;

Antonin (Baudis), member of the Czechoslovak People's Party, deputy prime minister;
Jiri Nikodym, CPCZ member, minister of finance, prices and wages;
Ludvik Motycka, Czechoslovak People's Party member, minister of construction and the building industry;
Milan Adam, Czechoslovak Socialist Party member, minister of education, youth, and physical training;
Milan Lukes, CPCZ member, minister of culture;
Pavel (Klener), without political affiliation, minister of health and social affairs;
Dagmar Buresova, without political affiliation, minister of justice;
Antonin Hrazdira, CPCZ member, minister of the interior and environment;
Petr Hojer, CPCZ member, minister of industry;
Jan Vodehnal, CPCZ member, minister of agriculture and food;
Jaroslav Bocek, CPCZ member, minister of forestry, water conservancy, and wood processing industry;
Vlasta Stepova, without political affiliation, minister of trade and tourism;
Stanislav Kukral, without political affiliation, minister-chairman of the Committee of People's Control;
Bedrich Moldan, without political affiliation, minister without portfolio. [passage omitted]

After the names of the new government were submitted, brother Kana, a Czech National Council deputy, told the meeting about the new standpoint of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which demands a new political composition of the government. He asked for 30 minutes in order to consult the Czechoslovak Socialist Party's leadership, which has proposed that 50 percent of the government be made up by nonparty members, while political parties should divide the second half among themselves.

As you can judge from my direct report, the meeting of the Czech National Council Presidium is very dramatic. The 30 minutes which Deputy Kana has asked for has not yet passed, so I do not as yet have the final standpoint of the Czechoslovak socialist Party. It is hard to guess the course of the 39th session of the Presidium of the Czech National Council. I shall report on the situation in an hour's time.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1200 GMT on 5 November, following report on government composition, announces that the new Czech Government has been approved in the originally submitted composition. The Czech People's Party, which raised objections, finally accepted the composition with the condition that the government is regarded as an open one.]

Council Approves Government

LD0512134989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the Czech National Council Presidium is today discussing a proposal on the appointment of members of the government of the Czech Socialist Republic. Lubos Lidicky reports directly from the Czech National Council:

[Lidicky] The meeting ended only a few minutes ago. It has ended well. [passage omitted]

An hour ago I reported on a dramatic course of the meeting of the Czech national council presidium when, shortly before the proposal of the new government was to have been discussed, Deputy Josef Kana, a deputy representing the Czechoslovak People's Party, and here I correct my original report about his political affiliation, spoke. He told the meeting about the new standpoint of the Czechoslovak People's Party leadership, which demanded a different political composition of the government and requested 30 minutes to consult his party's leadership. [passage omitted]

There followed a more than 30 minute interval, during which telephone consultations were conducted and Frantisek Pitra, the prime minister himself, spoke to Brother Josef Bartonicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, who told him that a party delegation would bring its written standpoint to the Czech National Council building. After more consultations, the chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party announced that the party has accepted its participation in the government in the composition as submitted, with the condition that the party leadership will regard the new government as open. Deputy Josef Kana confirmed the words of Frantisek Pitra, the prime minister, and repeated the Czechoslovak People's Party standpoint.

The Czech National Council Presidium then began to discuss the proposal of the new government as submitted originally. It voted about each proposal individually. [passage omitted]

The newly appointed government of the Czech Socialist Republic will be sworn in shortly.

Pitra Addresses Presidium

LD0512224289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The Czech National Council Presidium has named the new members of the government of the Czech Socialist Republic. Lubos Lidicky has followed the session:

[Lidicky] [passage omitted] Before the main item on the agenda, the appointment of new ministers, Frantisek Pitra made a short speech.

[Begin Pitra recording] This step is a part, and also the result, of the dramatic events which are taking place in our country. The unjustified intervention against the student manifestation on 17 Nov became a signal for the broad popular protest against the present bureaucratic system of management of the society which even previously was of a considerable intensity. Allow me, in front of this forum of the Czech National Council Presidium, a small diversion before we start discussing the cadre

proposals. I think it is necessary to give the true name to this politically irresponsible intervention against defenseless students. The memorable day for Czech students—for the youth and all our people, the whole world—was so tragically marked by the evil-minded decision which brought about not only suffering of innocent young people, but also badly damaged the government's authority.

All this has touched me personally because the intervention took place without the knowledge of the Czech Government and, furthermore, it took place immediately after my address at a gala meeting in the Carolinum on the occasion of 17 Nov. It was an address about the traditions and meaning of this important date. I am referring also to my address on Sunday [19 Nov] on Czechoslovak television with which I was entrusted. At that time I considered it necessary to calm the public without being objectively briefed on the events and on the justified agitation of the public. I am saying again, I asked that Sunday of the prosecutor general of the Czech Republic a speedy investigation of the causes of those events. I am saying quite sincerely, if I have made a mistake in anything, then it is that I did not say this in my television address.

We see the main cause of the dramatic events of the past days in the disappointed expectations and hopes of people that the announced social restructuring and democratization will bring the necessary fundamental changes, will remove deformations from our life, and will open the path toward the true renewal of socialism. With the entry of new political forces and currents which have revived a broad popular support, a new political situation has naturally been created. Deep and fundamental changes are taking place in our entire political life and from these new facts the government, as I have talked to the nominated members, is determined to proceed, both in drafting the program of its further activity and also from the point of view of personal contribution (?to the government). We have set off on the path of an honest and upright dialogue both with representatives of parties of the National Front, and also with the coordination center of the Civic Forum and other initiatives. In our opinion, dialogue is the only way to overcome the present tension and achieve national understanding, by diverting the present crisis to a path of calm development which will ensure for millions in the Czech Republic conditions for calm life and work. [end recording]

[Lidicky] [passage omitted] The newly appointed members of the government then took an oath prescribed by the Constitution.

Some committees of the Czech National Council were also in session today. From their deliberation a demand emerged for the Czech National Council Presidium and its chairman, Josef Kempny, to resign.

An official report, which we received a short time ago says: On 18th Dec there will be an extraordinary session of the Czech National Council which will discuss change in the composition of committees and the Presidium.

New Ministers Sworn in

LD0512201989 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czech National Council accepted at its session today the resignation of 11 members of the Czech Government and recalled Czech Deputy Premier Jaroslav Tlapak from his function.

Following a proposal of Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra and discussions in the National Council Presidium, the Presidium appointed new members of the Czech Government.

Characteristic of the Czechoslovak federation is the principle that the Czech and Slovak nations are sovereign nations in their historical territories, having the inalienable right to self- determination, to separate from the other republic and to ensure their national and state life.

The newly appointed government members of the Czech Socialist Republic were sworn in by chairman of the Czech National Council Josef Kempny.

At today's meeting of the Czech National Council Presidium. Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra said the new Czech Government is a coalition of the renewed National Front which set as its aim to impress really deep democratic features on society in the Czech Socialist Republic. It intends to develop the present system so that democratic rights and freedoms of citizens are guaranteed, he said.

The premier stressed that in forming its program the Czech Government will take into account new concepts of political life, such as the draft action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the programs of the socialist and people's parties and the opinions of the Civic Forum and other currents in Czech society. He emphasized the need to counter extreme tendencies which threaten the required stability of development and carry the danger of economic chaos.

The Czech premier said that he formed the government on the basis of opinions of the socialist and people's parties and consulted also representatives of the Civic Forum who presented some candidates for government posts but the question of a direct representation of the Civic Forum had not been raised by either side.

He further said that dialogue was the only way of overcoming the present tension, of achieving national understanding, leading the country out of the present crisis onto the path of peaceful development, and this was what he bore in mind when forming the government.

Referring to the police action against students on November 17, Frantisek Pitra said this politically irresponsible act against defenceless students took place without the knowledge of the Czech Government. He recalled he had asked the Czech general prosecutor already on November 19 for a speedy investigation of the causes of the November 17 events. Pitra added he saw the main cause of the dramatic events of the past days in that the expectations and hopes of the people that the announced restructuring and democratization would be carried out had not been fulfilled.

Deputy Premiers' Duties Outlined

LD0512231289 Prague CTK in English 2141 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—First Czech Deputy Premier Miroslav Toman said today that during talks on the composition of a new Czech Government, agreement had been reached with political parties and also opinions of university students, environmentalists, farmers and Civic Forum were used.

Speaking to newsmen, he said inter alia that the first deputy premier is in charge of questions of economic and scientific-technological policy, the deputy premier for the Socialist Party is responsible for contacts with the National Front, political parties and other public organizations, and the deputy premier for the People's Party is in charge of environmental problems, territorial and regional issues.

Referring to talks between representatives of the government and the Civic Forum, Miroslav Toman said the Forum does not want to propose government members but wants to express itself by supporting the program and members of the government.

He also said today's Czech Government meeting agreed to work out an action program on the basis of materials to be submitted by the individual ministers by the end of this week.

Czech Committees Discuss Economy, Problems

LD0512190889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The Constitutional-Legal Committee of the Czech National Council, along with the Plan and Budget Committee and delegations of the other committees have discussed a report on this year's economic results and the state plan for next year.

Alois Skoupy, joint rapporteur of the committee of the Czech National Council, said that the results of our management expose an actual collapse of the concept of a 5-year plan and that as a matter of fact we have been living at the expense of the future.

Deputies see as a way-out of this situation a comprehensive updating of material-technical base and the incorporation of our economy into the world market processes.

Civic Forum Reaction to New Czech Government

Forum Leader Comments

LD0512204889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Evelyn Forro report from Prague]

[Excerpts] The Czech National Government has probably learned from previous mistakes, because its composition is considerably more acceptable than that of the federal cabinet. [pasage omitted]

One of the leaders of the Civic Forum, Vaclav (?Klaus), who is a staff-member of the Forecasting Institute, awaits a better reflection of the political power relations in the Federal Government, too. In a statement to Hungarian journalists accredited in Prague, he said among other things that there is one sole possibility—the creation of a market economy—and first and foremost it is necessary to abolish the power of the enterprises in monopoly situations. In the future, the role of the Planning Office will decrease; however, that of the banks and the Prices' Office will increase. To the question whether the matter of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage will be reappraised, (?Klaus) said the investment policy hitherto was mistaken, but he, personally, believes that this is not a special matter, it is not a worse investment than other similar ones in the world. [passage omitted]

News Conference Held

LD0512230389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] At today's Civic Forum's news conference, Spokesman Jiri Dienstbier briefed on the Forum's stand on the newly appointed Czech Government. He said that eight of the newly appointed ministers enjoy the support of the Civic Forum which at the same time, however, believes that the composition of the government still does not correspond to the present distribution of power. He said that the Civic Forum is behind today's statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party which considers the Czech Government to be a government which is still under reconstruction and demands for half of the number of ministers to be selected from citizens without political affiliation and a half from members of political parties.

Jiri Dienstbier said that talks with representatives of the Federal Government continue. He also said that a preliminary agreement has been given for publishing of LIDOVE NOVINY.

The Civic Forum also submitted to the Federal Assembly the first draft of new Constitution of Czechoslovakia and asks for this draft to be immediately submited for nationwide discussion. The draft of the new Constitution was also handed to the Federal Government.

Dubcek: 'It's Up to the People To Decide'

PM0512165889 London ITV Television Network in English 2200 GMT 4 Dec

[Interview with Alexander Dubcek, former CPCZ first secretary, in Slovak with superimposed English translation, by correspondent Glen Oglaza in Bratislava, monitored in progress in the framework of ITV's "News at Ten" program; no date given—recorded]

[Text] [Oglaza] In this, his first television interview since the start of the recent wave of demonstrations for reform, the former Czechoslovakian leader, Alexander Dubcek, cast his mind back 20 years to the Prague spring of 1968.

[Dubcek] First of all, let me say that 20 years ago we were the first to realize that there was an inevitable movement toward the integration of Europe: We were the first to adopt glasnost, 20 years before the Soviet Union. We were high on freedom. 20 years ago we tried to avoid... to escape this isolation, and especially, we wanted to prove that our highly developed and skilled people need more freedom, more free space. Today the dimensions have changed—everything has gotten bigger. However, this doesn't mean by far that those ideals and principles who were—which were stressed then have been fully acknowledged and turned into reality.

[Oglaza] Throughout 1968 the Czechoslovakian leadership resisted Soviet pressure to end their reforms. Following the Soviet invasion of August 1968, Alexander Dubcek was summoned to Moscow by Leonid Brezhnev for talks with the Russian leadership.

[Dubcek] We were supposed not to ask questions but to adopt exact Soviet practices. We didn't want to leave the Warsaw Pact but to build a democratic socialism from our own democratic tradition. We accepted other political parties, and that was incredible for them—it was beyond their imagination. It was simply not acceptable to the neo-Stalinist Brezhnev model.

[Oglaza] There followed 21 years of isolation and police surveillance: Dubcek's every move was scrutinized.

[Dubcek] They wanted to totally isolate me: I was followed everywhere. I had to keep my circle of friends small to protect them. Maybe they thought I couldn't take it psychologically, but I could. It's been a hard life, but we're still here. There was no internal power willing to stop the Prague spring: we were suppressed by external force. The basic idea is the same now: you cannot suppress an idea. An idea is going to survive within people's conscience.

[Oglaza] Alexander Dubcek's return to public political life less than 2 weeks ago rekindles memories of the past.

[Dubcek] To speak in Prague gave me a deep sense of satisfaction. 20 years ago their parents cheered me: Now these children are doing the same, supporting the same ideas.

[Oglaza] A lot of people now are saying that you should be the next president of Czechoslovakia. How do you react to that?

[Dubcek] Well, for me, it's more important to find myself and the proper position to adopt. I oppose the government. In my eyes and in the eyes of the people, 20 years of this government has led to the current state of the nation. As for the presidency, it's up to the people to decide.

[Oglaza] As he awaits the call to stand as a candidate for the presidency of his country, Alexander Dubcek is convinced that now the present reforms are irreversible. Glenn Oglaza, "News at Ten," Bratislava.

* Speeches to 24 Nov Plenum Recalling Jakes

90EC0128A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov pp 3-5

[Text] At the Extraordinary Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee on Friday, many of the members and candidates of the Central Committee taking part in the discussions spoke—on their behalf as well as on behalf of collectives—in favor of fundamental cadre changes in the presidium and the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. The common characteristic of the speeches was that almost all of them were frankly discussing the current situation in the society, and tried to find the reasons for the problems and point to solutions. We are bringing here the most important thoughts from individual speeches.

Jaroslav Ondrasek, miner, Zacler:

"This will be probably somewhat rambling, because I do not have it written down, but as a miner I feel a duty to express my opinion at this important plenum. I am not satisfied with what the General Secretary said, because I ask myself, what am I going to say when I get home, what am I to implement? An anlysis was made, such as we heard, but I did not find anything new in it."

In the next part of his speech comrade Ondrasek expressed the criticism that "one day the government or all three announce that they agree with the intervention of the police, and the next day the Premier comrade Adamec says that it will be investigated. And so that there would not be any confusion, comrade General Secretary also states that it will be investigated, even though the Presidium still holds the position of agreeing with the statement of the Government. I move that the entire Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ Central

Committee resign, because they lost their battle on Wenceslas Square. These agencies are not unified and are not decisive."

In the conclusion of his speech comrade Ondrasek said that "we must go away from this Extrordinary Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee with a clear program of what we are going to do at least in the next few months. I think that we should propose at the minimum two blue collar workers to the Presidium of the Central Committee."

Ladislav Adamec, Premier of the CSSR Goverment:

"I consider the current situation in the country and in the Party to be serious. I do not consider it extremely serious only because there are street demonstrations, schools hold no classes, and theatres hold no performances. Those are merely outward manifestations of a profound discord between peoples' expectations and hopes and reality. Let us have the courage to call it a crisis situation. Stability, proclaimed only a few days ago, proved to be very fragile and quite vulnerable. There can be, and indeed are, diverse opinions as to the reasons for this great social tension. There can be no argument about the fact that it threatens to escalate into a dangerous conflict. I am against any one-sidedness in the political evaluation of forces that are on the move. The main current represents a healthy dissatisfaction with the slow rate and inconsistency of the restructuring.

"The most active role is played by the young generation which is undergoing a great political test these days. However, through various actions and and slogans, other forces are letting themselves be known, who want to unleash, on the wave of their enthusiam, a struggle for the restoration of forces of former political positions and, of course, for gaining power.

"Most of the young people look at these events with admiration, but many people are having justified misgivings about where these events will lead. There are equivocations and various reservations held by blue collar workers, farmers, the intelligentsia. Not even one of these diverse approaches can be underestimated. All these basic questions must be given a intelligible answer at this plenum.

"I agree that the future socialist society will probably be considerably different from the concepts not only of 70 to 40 years ago, but even of 20 and 10 years ago. But that does not give anyone the right to renounce the achievements and minimize the importance of defending the basic socialist values. Today, however, this struggle can no longer be won from a position of outdated conceptions of socialism, even justifying some distortions and mistakes. Such attempts are doomed to failure from the beginning. That must be said quite frankly and with a sense of full responsibility.

"It is perhaps useful to point out these things at a moment when we must find a very quick solution to the immediate events of the next hours and days. We must come back to a more detailed clarification of the reasons for the current events in a very short time.

"No one else but the CPCZ Central Committee can find a solution. That is recognized even by those who see nothing good in our work. Making decisions is not simple, events are developing very rapidly, and not in the same way everywhere. For that reason I consider it my duty to express my views on the situation and its solution. I am aware that we do not have many choices, the pressure of circumstances is growing from day to day, perhaps even hour to hour. We must recon with that. Together with the rest, I am thinking about solutions. There are basically two ways—both have their advantages and disadvantages, priorities and risks. Neither one gives a guarantee of full success beforehand. With these thoughts, which follow up on the speech of comrade Jakes, I wish to help to find an option for domestic policy which would be also best from the international point of view. To explain the first alternative, I start with the premise that mass demonstrations and a spreading strike movement already represents a direct attack on the socialist order, and thus there is no other way left but to immediately put a stop to all actions that are taking place. On the basis of this evaluation one can come to the conclusion that it is necessary to prevent the general strike even at the cost of an extensive use of extraordinary means including force. Not a few letters of protest from Party collectives in industrial and agricultural plants and other workplaces can be used to support this solution. Law-breaking cannot be passively overlooked. To allow anarchy would be totally contrary to democracy, and applying extraordinary measures would probably bring temporary calm to the streets. Experiences from administrative interventions also show not inconsiderable risks. After a certain time the situation can again come to a head and new crises could arise with as yet unpredictable consequences.

"But I am unequivocally in favor of the second alternative—political solution. In that case, we must also expect to make some acceptable concessions. It is my position that we have not exhausted these possibilities by any means. I also proceed on the belief that most of our people, including young ones, do not have reason to be against socialism, they are admittedly dissatisfied with many things, even agitated by various distortion, but are able and willing to give trust for trust. To drive the young generation into the arms of the enemies of socialism would be an unforgivable mistake. That must be prevented under all circumstances.

"I speak in favor of a political solution also because the recent intervention by the police lead to a radicalization of the young people, made possible the joining of various groups under a banner denouncing the intervention, and did not enhance the authority of the Party or the state. Something similar must be avoided in the future. It would be a mistake to underestimate the risk of a wider intervention by force. We cannot give in to the illusion that various democratization, ecological, and other

movements will stop at our borders. Also, signed international obligations concerning citizens' rights cannot be taken lightly. In choosing methods to deal with the internal political problems we can no longer count with the international assistance of socialist countries. As far as the capitalist countries are concerned, we must take into consideration the consequences of a political and economic boycott. However, that is not a call for retreating at all costs, without consideration of the loss of socialist values.

"To face the truth means to acknowledge that the loss of political trust as a result of administrative mistakes must be paid for. And there has been enough of those here during the past 20 years, and not small ones. But I am convinced that we do not have to pay too much as long as we succeed in mobilizing the Party. After all, nobody else has such numerous membership, experienced aktiv of functionaries, and close connections with every collective. The 7th and 9th Plenum of the Central Committee created certain conditions for the activization of this enormous potential. But we stopped only at the beginning of the road.

"At issue is the very standing of the Party in the society. As long as our conduct contributes to the awakening of all members, we shall have fulfilled our historic task. If it does not, we shall pay for it dearly and we shall rectify things only very slowly. I consider as exceptionally important and sensitive what the position is taken to the basic demands, particularly those which are most often announced. They are very different, both correct and incorrect. One can implement them either immediately or only later.

"This must be clear. When we are unable to answer immediately, let us at least say when we shall address the matter. In no case, however, must we give the impression that we are evading something, that we make tactical delays, and are somehow maneuvering. Let us make every effort to choose such an approach that would not bring about a new wave of even more radical demands.

"I consider it as basic to announce a convening of another plenum of the Central Committee within 14 days to consider political questions, particularly a program of speeding up the restructuring and broadening the dialogue. We would thus gain time to mobilize the Party and give it better information about the chosen approach. The Party needs a short-term action program, and a plan for uniting the greatest possible number of Communists for specific goals in the next weeks. It would be also possible to organize a broad public discussion around the positions and proposals of the CPCZ Central Committee. We can also submit with greater speed the proposed constitution for public discussion, make public the draft law on associations and assembly for citizens' comments. By doing that, we shall give the thus far not very constructive exchange of opinion a certain framework and specific content. It will take the wind out of the sails of the daily announced appeals and [word illegible]. I am convinced that only by an active approach shall we gain the initiative for our Party, and thus we shall also make gains for the policies of the party of most of our citizens. That way we shall also best answer the requests of Party organizations for more help from the Central Committee of the Party.

"In conclusion, I would like to thank the Central Committee for their help in carrying out my functions in the Presidium and the Federal Government. At the same time I ask to be released from the function of a Presidium member and for the approval of my proposed resignation from the function of Premier of the Federal Government. This decision was not made at this moment and is not based on personal reasons. It is the result of my disagreement with the slow process of the social reforms and with the outdated work methods of the Presidium. I have recommended many times to remove the cadre and content obstacles which, according to my belief, prevent me and, I am convinced, most Communists from consistently implementing the policy of restructuring and democratization. I informed the General Secretary about these views and my request to be released from my function on 27 June of this year, I submitted this proposal at the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee on 27 October, and I sent a detailed explanation in writing to the General Secretary on 30 October. I originally intended to submit this proposal only at the December Plenum of the Central Committee, but in view of the fact that I am not certain of being able to make the necessary changes at today's proceedings, I ask the Central Committee to approve my request."

Josef Riman, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences:

After explaining the worsening living conditions of mankind and indicating the role of socialist science in solving these problems, he said that none of the resolutions which came to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences from various institutes disclaim the socialist way or the leading role of the CPCZ. "Today, we have before us the great task of introducing as quickly as possible an atmosphere free of emotion which can grow only out of a dialogue," he said. "A dialogue, of course, that can unify views on when, where, and how to best proceed in the restructuring, and also who is to solve what and who is to bear personal responsibility for what. The content of the mentioned resolutions expresses the requirement to make marked qualitative changes in party work, and as far as dialogue is concerned, 'we should start, above all, a dialogue inside the Party in order to consolidate, which must be reflected also in basic changes in the quality of work of the entire Party and its highest agencies.' It is my duty to say here frankly that the resolutions which come from the basic organizations of the Party basically cry for changes in the highest Party leadership....Our institutes wish to have in the Party leadership people who are not only politically educated but also who also have firm moral principles."

Antonin Mlady, laborer, Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek, Kompressory, Prague:

"The crisis in domestic politics is the result of various causes. As the most serious and main cause in the Communist district Prague 9, I consider the fact that the possibility of a political solution was not allowed. The development of events since 17 November demanded an immediate political action by the center. During the complicated developments the Presidium members as well as the secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee failed. It is because of their passivity that workers in the factories were left at the mercy of events. Most of you have not gone anywhere during the whole week, your inaction fulfilled the slogan that where the Party does not do its work, the enemy does.

"This situation need not have arisen at all; after all, we discussed several times with comrade Frantisek Kubes critical comments at our meetings, to which none of you reacted. We thus sat down on a barrel of gun-powder which smouldered, but it is still time to prevent an explosion. The Party cannot elicit authority by using force, the Party must work in such a way that it regains trust and gradually increases its authority in a natural way. Regarding the fact that you did not engage in a substantive dialogue in factories and your promises were not followed by deeds and political solutions, you lost the trust of most Communists. It will be very proper and for the gradual move toward unity of action of Party ranks very important, if you resigned from the Party functions and the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee. Your continued stay in those functions will not contribute to a gradual consolidation. We recommend that a provisional Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee be named. A serious and unforgivable mistake was that the ideological activity on the part of the CPCZ Central Committee failed completely, for which comrade Fojtik is specifically responsible. Communists and the workers at Kolbenka and other plants of the CKD Prague, there are several tens of thousands of us, adopted a resolution that in view of the fact that there was no timely solution of the situation that has arisen, which each day becomes more acute and which the highest Party leadership was totally unable to handle, we lost confidence in those officials and we demand that wide-ranging changes in the cadres of the highest Party agencies at all levels be carried out. It is essential to create agencies composed of comrades who have authority and the confidence of the working people. The new agencies should ensure political changes needed to restore the authority of the Party and create an efficient atmosphere for the restructuring that is under way. We call on the Central Committee: do not allow in these fateful times to push through the interests of individuals and groups and keep in mind only and exclusively the future fate of the CPCZ and the socialist society in our country. The development of the situation thus far has led to a substantial decline in the authority of the Party and its members in the plant. Unless these demands are soon met, the situation in our plants will become unsolvable and will lead to a great crisis. In conclusion I wish to mention that Vladimir I. Lenin already emphasized that nothing but our own mistakes can defeat us."

Frantisek Stafa, Deputy Chairman of the Czech Statistical Office:

In the opening of his speech he returned to the preceding discussions of the municipal Party committee in Prague and to its conclusions. The CPCZ Municipal Committee evaluated with self-criticism its share in the inadequate response to the developments of the past several days. He stated: "We lost our position in larger factories during two or three days by procrastinating. The only way now to yet influence the situation, will be the decision of today's Plenum of the Central Committee that all comrades in the Presidium and the Secretariat resign. As far as the intervention is concerned, we called it a political mistake. What hurt us the most, was the fact that nobody wanted to assume responsibility. One denies it, the other denies it, I do not have the right, we are late announcing the solution, we are late announcing the decision, we change our decision, and that puts us on the defensive. How can a Communist come to an organization and say that this is the truth when the truth will be different tomorrow, and different again the day after tomorrow.

"The questions which the students have, are in accord with the policy of the National Front, we should study them thoroughly and find a solution which is within the framework of socialism and within the framework of our approach. We satisfied ourselves that a great part, I would say the majority, of the students even in today's situation will come to our side if we implement the measure about which we spoke here, they will consider it to be the correct solution."

Michal Spak, leading secretary of the East Slovakia CPS Central Committee:

"Today's discussions are beginning to proceed in the traditional way, as if nothing was happening, as if nothing was at stake. So far nobody has said that this is a fateful plenum for our Party, and we have to approach it as such. Because of that, a discussion such as is now under way could go on for another two days and would lead nowhere.

"It is necessary to begin working in the first and second commission and submit clear and intelligible proposals, otherwise the situation will get out of hand.

"It is a fateful plenum for the party and not for its functionaries or individuals. The membership base expects a clear word from us. Today, comrades, not even cadre changes which we will make here will be very interesting, not for the Party and even less so for the public. We must adopt a measure concerning what the Central Committee and what the Government will do even this evening, what they will do at noon Saturday and what they will do in the evening, what the situation will be on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. We do not have months, because the initiative is being taken over

by someone else. I understand that it is necessary to state this frankly, that even in our plenum there are enough of those who are offended, humiliated, revengeful. But there is also a healthy core which can quietly and reasonably solve all problems. We cannot grow as long as we do not adopt such resolutions with which we could go among Party members. General phrases will not help us, and it is strange that yesterday, too, nothing was submitted to us by the General Secretary at the meeting of leading secretaries of regional committees. On what are we supposed to take a position if no measures are proposed?

"Comrade Adamec gave up, I agree with him, but why are there no proposed measures by the state authority and the state agencies, on what they will do today, tomorrow, how development will proceed. We can go back to evaluating the past period, talk about who made mistakes and where errors, I would say tragic errors, occurred, what all we perpetrated. Nobody can tell us today that the situation is not serious, because that is nonsense. The situation is catastrophic. If we do not begin resolving it today, we shall not have the chance any more to do it later . Therefore I recommend that the commissions which we approved begin active work immediately. We could cry our eyes out, explain our views, offer philosophical reflections for weeks. People, however, expect practical steps and practical action from us. I recommend that we move the proceedings of our plenum in a direction that would lead to the solution of all present problems which we know well, which affect the Party adversely, and which nobody but the Central Committee can solve. Today the situation is such that we can still try to solve them, but that may not be the case tomorrow. The Party leadership and all of us must face up to that truth. Our plenum is extraordinary, in a extraordinary situation, and extraordinary measures are needed to resolve it. An extraordinary situation cannot be dealt with in the old way, or we would go, so to speak, to wreck and ruin, and that would be the worst that could happen. I request that the elected commissions begin to work, that we begin to take up specific issues, and that today's plenum formulates clear resolutions also on the cadre issue. And also resolutions on programs, which today are even more essential that those on cadres.

"I want to say unequivocally that our plenum cannot end until we have accomplished the mentioned tasks, until we are all clear about what we will tell members in basic organizations as well as other citizens after returning home. Someone should speak out even tonight and unequivocally inform the public what decisions the Central Committee made, what it discussed, what we shall do. Milan Vaclavik, the Minister of Defense, spoke on television yesterday. Don't we have more functionaries who would speak in such a substantive and clear way? Everybody sort of drew back and is waiting. Events are moving so rapidly that if we do not handle things well now, we shall not have time left to do it over."

Jiri Klima, chancellor, School of Technology, Prague:

"We should not underestimate the college students' strike and say that it is just the work of a cunning group of dissidents, and although the strike was given impetus by a big lie, the fabricated death of one of the students, the determination of the students to strike was not shaken even by the refutation of this lie. In contrast to previous street demonstrations, this time are involved not just hundreds of college students but a large majority of this group of our citizens.

"What kind of group are we talking about? We have been talking here about the relationship of college students to our order, to the policies of our Party. I can illustrate whom we are talking about by a sample of roughly 15,000 day students at the Czech School of Technology. More than half of the students comes from working class families. Either both or at least one parent of 35 to 45 percent of the students are members of the CPCZ. The social and political background of this sample is the average of our population. An absolute majority of the students belongs or belonged to the Union of Socialist Youth. All of them lived their lives in a socialist society and went through 12 years of socialist education. The elementary and high school students are now adults and have a voting right. They belong to a generation for which we are trying to secure a contented life in our country.

"But for many days these young people did not believe me, and they did not believe the party and government officials or the information media even in such trivial thing as the refuted death of Martin Smid.

"When we finally succeeded in dispelling the fable about the death of Martin Smid, the situation was made much more difficult for us by the positions of the governments, approved by the position of the Presidium of the Central Committee which approved the intervention by the police force. And it united in a very negative way not only college students but also other sections of the citizenry against all the agencies which expressed themselves that way. It was then difficult to remedy the situation by a late expression of regret, first voiced by the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. But I want to point out that if we do not say at least as much as the Central Committee of the National Front, then all of our citizens, not only those who go to Wenceslas Square every day, will say that we are avoiding responsibility and are hiding behind prosecutors who will be working for a long time to come.

"If we are serious about the restructuring and democratization, the party and the government will have to relinquish their habit of using their authority to regulate and decide everything. We shall have to get accustomed to do more convincing and converting.

"Forty-three years ago, in the last elections in which there were more independent candidates, we became the strongest party and a truly leading force in the nation. After February 1948 we declared this to be a permanent,

not to say eternal, position and we even wrote it into the Constitution. We cannot remain intoxicated by our insistence that an absolute majority of the nation is supporting us. The party should show enough strength to admit what real life shows, that not everyone supports our policies. A quarter of a million protesters in Wenceslas Square cannot be just misguided college students. It is becoming apparent that even in our society there exists something that is generally called a political opposition.

"Our young party members and students without party affiliation reject the condition of the party leadership not to include those who do not hold the same position we do in the discussions. They say, what kind of democracy is this when you choose with whom you will talk and with whom you will not. Life at this time is forcing us and will continue to force us to engage in a dialogue and ideological encounters, not power encounters, even with those who reject socialism.

"What kind of lesson did I learn from recent events. I believe that the party must make uncompromising decisions about cadres, not only elsewhere, not only about those without party affiliation or lower ranking party members, but all the way to the highest positions. Instead of using force, we must engage in dialogue. The party can improve its name among the public only if it engages in self-criticism. We must increase the openness of our politics. Give timely and full information even about unpleasant problems. I believe that in all modern countries the dominant element today is television. That a party representative must not send messages to party members through various messengers to every basic organization, but that he tell it on the screen to everybody. So that even those without party affiliation can hear it."

Michal Stefanek, chairman of the Department for International Policy of the CPCZ Central Committee:

He pointed out that it would be a great mistake if, in spite of warnings from party organizations, regional and district party committees, but also from some members of its Central Committee, attention were diverted from the most important question and turned to secondary, insubstantial ones. The same could be heard also at the annual membership meetings. He emphasized that the party has no influence on the process begun by the young generation—the students in Prague and other cities of the republic.

"We must express disagreement with the events of 17 November. And show who specifically bears responsibility for them. To call on students to make available the collected documentary material and together with the prosecutor general put an end to the affair.

"The distribution of party and state functions in December 1987 met with great enthusiasm and support from the entire party and the entire society. All expected that the time has come for an active detailing and implementation of the comprehensive restructuring and democratization. These programs began to be realized, to be sure, but with big mistakes. Unfortunately, the initial drive gradually dissipated, and the old stereotypes, mistakes, and shortcomings again crept into the work of the party leadership, which led to ever greater dissatisfaction. Things have come to such a pass today that the party, the entire party aktiv, are paralyzed.

"But I think that other steps, too, distracted the attention of the party leadership from the main and decisive questions, and did not contribute either to the restructuring or the deepening of socialist democracy.

"These and other questions will have to be evaluated at the 18th Congress. At stake today is the future of the party and of socialism. Political realism must take over. I am in favor of the entire presidium and secretariat of the Central Committee stepping aside, and for installing in the leadership of the party young people, capable of realizing the policy of the party and socialism by political means.

"The correct move will be to quickly include in the governments representatives of other political parties and organizations of the National Front. It is necessary to elaborate guidelines for the party and government leadership to be used in a dialogue with other social groups as well as the structures that are being formed. I think that the place to hold these discussions is the platform of the National Front. The representatives of the Union of Socialist Youth, the Council of the Institutions of Higher Learning, and the strike committees should by right propose a suitable candidate for the position of deputy minister of education, physical education, and youth.

"The Party must speak as the decisive force in solving the problems that have piled up."

Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Socialist Youth:

He said: "Why is it that we underestimated what occurred in Poland, Hungary, and even more so in the GDR."

He further responded to the critical voices addressed to the youth press and pointed out among other things: "We told the press that it is to write what it wants. We shall simply have to get used to the fact that it will not be possible for us to stand at the elbow of every editor and follow what exactly he is writing, and tell him what he is to write. That time is gone. But yesterday, for the first time in the history of the MLADA FRONTA, I stopped the presses, because the young people's press, to my mind, cannot take on the distribution of certain information."

He further stated that today is not 1968, but under no circumstances can the attacks which are aimed at the party and which are well known to everyone, be disparaged. "As long as we say that it is 'they' who are forcing the action, we must see that 'we' let the other side into the editor's chair by our defensive attitude and total

inactivity." He expressed the opinion that the situation can be calmed down, and he rejected any intervention by force.

Jirina Bartackova, laborer, Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek, Polovodice, Prague:

"The mass demonstrations, particularly of young people and not only in Prague, show that we have not succeeded in influencing that generation," she said. "Without it, of course, the restructuring cannot be realized." She stated that party policies are not always implemented in a way that would benefit the people. Criticism is being leveled at advantages enjoyed by officials and at the ill-advised spending of resources for various equipment. Equally damaging, for example, is the discrepancy between words and deeds in cadre work. These mistakes are beginning to be exploited by groups whose programs have other goals than the Communist Party has. The party was not able to react in time to suggestions and so now other political parties are gaining popularity."

Comrade Bartackova urgently recommended that the Central Committee determine specific tasks which will lead the party out of the crisis. To make it clear what is to be done today and what is to be done tomorrow. She supported the need to make cadre changes in the Presidium of the Central Committee.

Ondrej Saling, Secretary of the CPS Central Committee:

He expressed the opinion that the report given by Comrade Jakes and the proposals for cadre changes do not respond to the situation and do not guarantee that the party can be successfully unified on that basis. In accord with what has already been said in the discussion he recommended that "the entire Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee step aside, and a new general secretary be elected. And to establish on the basis of the discussion a clear course of action for solving the problems in the economy, in the social sphere and in the political system. He emphasized that it is necessary to determine a further course of action or short-term program with which the party will appear before the communists, before the working people. In working it out it will be necessary to take as the starting point above all an analysis of the mistakes and shortcomings which made possible such a wide political activity by the opponents. It means to take the lead in solving the problems which are of concern to our citizens, so that the party can take the wind out of the sails of the Chartists and their adherents, while keeping an eye on the situation in the world, in the socialist countries. He stated that the members of the CPCZ Central Committee also contributed to today's problems, when, for example, at the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee they did not react sufficiently to the situation, when they did not give the Presidium of the Central Committee needed incentive or sufficient support. Other problems rest in the fact that the content of the restructuring was not sufficiently known to the people to make an impression, the working class was not won over to the policies of the CPCZ. We did not react adequately to the objective political situation in the country, we did not recognize what specific influence the party has among the working class, other working people, among the young people and the intelligentsia. But we also did not react to the fact that there are political workers here who, as they themselves proclaim, are working within the framework of the Constitution, and we did not have a clear course of action for the struggle against them. Also, the pace of the restructuring does not accord with the needs, priorities have not been clearly established, and, what is decisive, we again did not take the lead in solving problems and shortcomings. This, of course, is a matter not only for the CPCZ Central Committee, its presidium, but for the entire party, basic organizations, regional and district committees. This was then exploited by the class enemies who point to the problems which life offers for solution, and they broadened their activities. The ability of the entire party, its functionaries and members to act is not commensurate with the fact that we find ourselves in another time, when we lead a political struggle, when there really is a political opponent here against whom we must wage an offensive. In the conclusion of his speech he pointed out that the situation must be resolved by political means. We cannot, after all, use force against workers, students, against our children. That would be insupportable. The times are also different, using the Action Program as the basis of our information we should try to win over—the majority of the members and with their help the rest of society. Go on a political offensive."

Vladimir Kunovjanek, director of the Marxist-Leninist Institute of the CPCZ Central Committee:

He stated that we still do not know to the full extent the roots of the present situation, its causes and consequences. Whereas in some other socialist countries a political crisis comes as a result of an economic and social crisis, here it is basically the other way around. At issue is a profound crisis in the entire social superstructure with the possibility that these processes could have a reverse effect, negatively influence the foundation of society as well as the economy, and in the future also the social certainties.

"It seems to me that since the events on Wencelas Square in January of this year we learned little. Instead of taking them as the last warning and really trying to increase the ability of our party to act, we began to diffuse and weaken it. According to my opinion, we concentrated to much on the outward attributes of democracy.

"Where we should have pushed through truly democratic principles, really engage in a genuine dialogue with numerous segments of our society, those who have the good of socialism at heart, there we failed to do so. Often we passed off our monologue as dialogue, or at least two monologues went on simultaneously side by side. And all that while it was essential to talk with everyone, with young people, with ecological initiatives, etc.

"Sometimes you can hear the opinion that it was really just 17 November on Narodni Trida, and if that had not happened, everything would actually be all right. That may not be the case. The question of whether the intervention was proportionate or disproportionate will be judged by the commission. That is one thing. But the intervention itself was, to my mind, a great mistake. In fact, ever since January we lost standing in society every time we used force, because it always turns against us. But the use of force on 17 November, on a day so sensitive in the history of our present times, that was a monumental political mistake for which we are now paying, and from which our recovery will be long and difficult.

"I have to say it a thousand times that we are under a concentrated pressure from anticommunist forces of the West as well as under the influence of the developments in other socialist countries. It cannot be disputed, it is true, but there are 1,700.000 of us communists. If only a half of us enforced or at least believed in the policies of the party, the policies of our leadership, nobody but us would have a chance. Obviously, nobody is so naive as not to see here also the forces of opposition. Certainly, if the trial of strength had not taken place on 17 November, it would have happened a week, a month, three months later. But why did we allow the opposition to determine the place, the time, and the tactics of the struggle!"

He further stated that cadre changes in themselves are not enough. "It is essential to proceed with economic reforms. It would be demagoguery to claim that they will bring quick results. At least, however, we should not slow them down.

"The reform of our political system must be quick. And it should be such that not only the CPCZ Central Committee would agree with it, but also the membership base and the majority of our society which is interested in a constructive resolution of the present situation.

"As far as the general strike is concerned: naturally, we must take steps to prevent the strike, but if we do not, then communists should use this strike to support the new party leadership and its program in their workplaces.

"We are a political party which has behind it an almost 70-year-old tradition of struggle, victories and very complicated circumstances. We are now living through one of the most difficult periods. We must all realize that at issue now is the unity of the party, that this is no time for personal grudges, vanity, touchiness, and such. Only thus shall we come out of this situation with honor."

Zdenek Ceska, chancellor of Charles University:

He called the intervention of police units against students on 17 November a serious political mistake "which must be frankly acknowledged, and students must be kept informed on the progress of a thorough investigation of this affair. Our concern must be the trust of the young generation." He added that the point is to gain the trust of the entire society. "The party must at all times try to gain that trust, it must be sensitive to the voice of the people and the people also must be continually convinced of that in everyday life. It is necessary to systematically consult with the citizenry, with the partners in the National Front, and particularly with the rest of the political parties who need to be given more scope for participating in the administration of society, which includes as I have already said also their participation in the federal government and the governments of both republics."

The speech by Comrade Ceska made the point that "we must convince citizens that we are and want to be truly a state of laws, in which the constitution and laws play the supreme role. They must, of course, be a good constitution and good laws. Similarly, the questions of the right to assembly, association and petitioning, and the question of environmental protection must be given a legal expression with all speed.

"The citizens are not against a firm center which is today characteristic of every modern country, and all the more of a socialist country," he continued. "But we must also keep observing the requirement that this center be not only wise, but also able to act and have initiative, which in the end applies to our Central Committee and applies above all to the party leadership. In my opinion, the current leadership underestimated the actual political situation in society and was unable, particularly in recent days, to handle the situation. I therefore support the position of the CPCZ municipal committee in Prague, according to which fundamental cadre changes in the Presidium of the Central Committee are essential."

Comrade Ceska objected to the assertion of Comrade Ondracek that he somehow agreed with the students' strike. He said that on the contrary he pointed out to students its disadvantages, what it will cost them that they will then have to make up. He admitted in his rejoinder to the point made by Comrade Matl, that pedagogues are aware of their share of responsibility for the political education of the students.

Mirosalv Huscava, miner, Ostrava-Karvin Mines:

"The miners in the Ostrava-Karvin district have always supported the policies of the party and the socialist state," he stated by way of introduction. But if miners were to strike for a week, they would cripple the whole republic. Therefore they do not agree with the solution the students have chosen, even though they understand their feelings. He gave some thought also to what is constructive in what the students are offering for the solution of economic problems. He called on them to return to their classrooms and study, and contribute with their expertise to the solution of problems and the development of our socialist society.

When he spoke about the government of laws, he said that "the prerequisite for it is to obey the laws. Whether this law or that one is appropriate, correct, or satisfactory can be debated. Whether it needs to be changed. But

as long as it is in force, it must be obeyed. The government and other state agencies must see to that. In this country, however, laws are broken with abandon. For example, young blue collar workers criticize that they earn Kcs 2,000- 3,000 a month, and young black market money changers or hucksters maybe KCS 2,000-3,000 a day. Are we really unable to do something about it? Where is a worker to get the means for a foreign currency account so that he can travel? Where can a worker in fact get the necessary hard currency that would make it possible for him to travel when he does not know the right people or is unable to pay a bribe? Obviously, nobody is going to pay a bribe to a laborer. I do not believe that all the government can manage to do is wait. I do not believe that the government can only manage to count losses caused by the so-called black economy. The goverment must govern.

"The restructuring," he said, "certainly is not progressing so quickly that our working people could feel any very tangible results of the new dynamics of our society. A continuing problem, for example, is the health of the miners in the Ostrava-Karvin district, the availability of health care for them, and then there is the question of housing for miners, and others. In 1980 resolutions were adopted at the federal and Czech government level, but they are not being implemented. We are too accustomed in dealing with any kind of thing to hiding behind the 'justification' that these are very complicated matters. Or that we are talking about a demanding and long-range process, or that 'we shall solve these problems gradually, etc.' If we acted like that in the shafts, we would be using candles.

"Such approaches to tasks enable many a leading functionary to live in peace for years. Capitalists, whose successes in the economy, cybernetics, and economic productivity, which our young people so uncritically admire, cannot afford such behavior. But neither can socialism. If we want to get out of the current situation as quickly as possible, restore normal life, and implement to the full the leading role of our Communist Party and the political authority which it captured in the past, we must take an honest and critical look at our own ranks. To what extent are we, as communists, consistent. What is the state of our communist morality, did some high positions alienate some of us from the common man. Is the unity of ideas, organization, action of the party, the unity of the entire society, vital."

Jan Zelenka:

"All informal organizations cannot be thrown into the same bag. The young people themselves could not have experienced the problems about which they speak. They obviously heard about them from their parents who, to a greater or lesser degree, experienced the deformations of the socialist society, intentional or unintentional, theoretical or practical. And these deformations were what left considerable marks on the morality of the society. The discord between words and deeds became deeply imbedded in our life, we think of it as something almost natural and common."

The speaker then talked about the proposals on cadre matters. He also said that "Party members as well as those without party affiliation expect a lot from this plenum of the Central Committee. The escalation of the present situation can no longer be stopped by cordons of police squads, but it can be stopped by a wise decision of the Party Central Committee. The future of socialism must be fought for by political and democratic means."

Vladimir Kocandrle, director of the Institute of Clinical and Experimental Medicine, Prague:

"The events of recent days convince us that we find ourselves in a critical situation. The current political atmosphere is festering as a result of the events of 17 November. But the issue is the culmination and expression of the reality that broad strata of the population as well as rank-and-file party members do not consider the pace of the economic, and above all the political, restructuring sufficient. The analysis done by the party leadership at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee, which spoke about a by-and-large stabilized situation in the country, was therefore proven incorrect. After all, even at that time there were signals pointing to the increasing tension which now has found its outlet. And what is more, when this present situation arose, the party leadership was unable to unite the party in action and give it a unequivocal and concrete position, which would make it possible to develop a day-to-day dialogue not only with rank-and-file party members but also with the broad strata of the population. Insufficient contact between the higher party agencies and the membership base lead to the detachment of the leadership from the mass base, which significantly weakened the ability of the party to maintain an active role in all the processes under way. Incorrect evaluation of the situation, belated and often inadequate reaction to events and processes, as well as the defensive nature of our policies enabled other parties and forces to take over the initiative. They thus made the situation much more complicated.

"There is no considering other than political solutions, and I want particularly stress that. Therefore we cannot keep on procrastinating and trust that waiting and a position of compromise will solve the situation for us. It is absolutely essential that the plenum adopt an entirely specific and prudent action program for the next few weeks, including the necessary compromises. Only on the basis of such a program will it still be possible to change the natural divergence of opinion in the society, which today is much more acute, into as broad as possible social understanding and agreement on the platform of a creative development of socialism and an accelerated restructuring and democratization in the political and economic spheres.

"We must adopt, based on all the realities of these days, without regard to any personal or group ambitions or

interests, politically wise and courageous solutions, including basic cadre measures, particularly in the Presidium of the Central Committee, a solution in the interest of the party, socialism, and the Czechoslovak people."

Miloslav Dockal, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the CSR:

"I think that it is essential to contribute to the restoration of confidence in the party, so that the process of restructuring and democratization could strengthen socialism in our country. Permit me to quote Klement Gottwald, that we cannot grow proud in victory and we cannot lose our heads because of failure. I see the decisive requisite for the necessary optimism in having a crushing majority of citizens, of young people, in favor of socialism. How to restore and regain confidence in the party on the basis of democratic forms? It probably cannot be anything else but the renewal of [Gottwald's tried-and-true slogan] "Face the Masses." I think that at this time it will be necessary to carry on the announced dialogue with everybody for the benefit of socialism. We should see to it and guarantee that all citizens can really share in the formulation of conceptual questions of the restructuring and democratization on the platform of the National Front, in accordance with the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Every condition must be created to enable all those who participate in creating the concept of restructuring and specific policies to assume specific co-responsibility for the implementation of the restructuring and democratization, including specific conditions in various agencies."

Jan Theis, bus driver, Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation, Pardubice:

"If today we lose the young people, then it will mean the loss of a generation to the nation. The events should make it incumbent on us, members of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement and other social organizations associated in the National Front, to engage in purposeful, day-to-day work with the young people as the priority task of society. Party and state agencies of all levels should re-evaluate their work and comrades who slipped into a bureacratic style of work should better leave. Today the efficiency of work of individual officials in party and state agencies should be decisive. I am very often asked why we manage to punish a worker, a foreman, perhaps even a director for not fulfilling his tasks, but in the case of higher functionaries one never hears that anybody would be punished or recalled from function for not fulfilling his duties.

"Further, I would support the proposal that the premier of the Federal Government and the premiers of the individual governments of the republics not be members of the CPCZ Central Committee, but that in the Committee there be blue collar workers, two from the Czech lands and two from Slovakia, and also that they appear in the CPS Central Committee, so that our voice would be heard also in the higher functions."

Lumir Hanak, executive secretary of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU:

First of all he pointed out that in the report of Comrade Jakes are listed various reasons for the current state of affairs in which society finds itself, but that the fault must be looked for primarily in the party and its Central Committee. "The 7th and 9th Plenums were progressive, pulling the Party forward, but the subsequent ones were already retrogressive," said L. Hanak. "The party, above all the presidium, behaved as if they did not know what to do next about restructuring and democratization... With slogans about democratization we got the people moving, particularly some sections of the intelligentsia, but the party did not move, the party itself did not undergo restructuring. The presidium was used to having us vote unanimously on the draft resolutions—and we did that to the latest plenum, as if it was a mistake when somebody has a different opionion. They talked about dialogue, but dialogue did not happen."

"There was no courage"—continued L. Hanak—"to come with another proposal. That leads to passivity, and one mistake is piled on another. Recently, when the crisis grew more serious by the hour, the presidium failed totally. The party was left without leadership. Party functionaries received vague instructions which changed as the position of the government and the party changed. The presidium showed signs of spasticity, information went out late and contradicted itself. On one hand indecisiveness, on the other rashness. And just at this time the party needed a resolute leadership so that it would know what to do."

In the next part of his speech L. Hanak had some thoughts on the role of the new presidium. "We do not need a presidium," he said, "which is made up of representatives of certain government and people administration bodies. Today it is not necessary that premiers, chairmen of Parliament and others be members of the presidium. We also need a broader presidium, such that would have the courage, wisdom and will to go after things and lead the party out of the crisis. The new presidium must in today's situation separate the wheat from the chaff. It must evaluate the spontaneous as well as the organized, but definitely not to be disregarded expressions of discontent among the young people, intellectuals, but also blue collar workers and other strata of working people, with our policies and determine as quickly as possible, on the march, operatively, in a democratic discussion, the further course of action for the party."

"We have had long discussions about the program of the party," continued L. Hanak. "Whether to prepare it and for how long, and we found ourselves in a situation where it became clear that we dealt with questions which were not relevant, questions which diverted us from a specific political line. We need to know what to do today and tomorrow."

"The presidium," said L. Hanak in conclusion, "must not make cabinet policies without the Central Committee. It must inform and mobilize party masses and must conduct open and intelligible policies. After all, our goals are beautiful. If we do not want to squander and lose the political capital of the past, we must part with the old administrative methods."

Bohuslav Chnoupek:

"The Central Committee met because of pressing need. It was supposed to discuss the situation in the party and the society. That means, it was not supposed to discuss escapist questions. Not education, not ecology, but politics. Therefore, the question which has priority. Unfortunately something that it has not discussed for years. Why are we talking about politics? Because the situation in the party and in the society is serious. Therefore not stable, as we stated and unanimously agreed on at the last plenum, but highly charged. The dissatisfaction in society has been growing, that is no secret. It grew the faster the more it became apparent how the realization of the restructuring, so spontaneously greeted 4 years ago by the whole country, differs from what the people imagined. There was growing distrust, and that, too, is no secret. People, above all, did not trust and could not trust those who in the initial stage of the restructuring were so actively committed against it, and now all of a sudden are sponsoring it, albeit with gritted teeth. Neither did they believe those representatives, including the highest ones, who for 4 years have not spoken one word about the restructuring, either for or against.

"It is therefore not at all surprising"—he said—"that this generally very tense situation was easily and almost without effort fully exploited by those who do not recognize the leading role of the party. The party leadership almost ideally played into their hands by putting into one basket and under one stream from the water cannons without differentiation also the ordinary, honest people, who had nothing else in mind but the democratization of socialism in the spirit of Lenin's ideas and who were not anti-socialist forces at all. Moreover, it was announced that we shall not engage in a dialogue with everyone, and that humiliated people all the more because just at that time Soviet friends proclaimed, together with Lenin, that dialogue must be carried on with everyone, and everyone must be won over to the right cause.

"The irony, which will be forever written into the annals of our relations with the Soviet Union, is the fact that from those marching through the streets of our towns not one single anti-Soviet word was heard. Against the party yes, against communists yes, but against the Soviet Union no. This fact must be remembered well, and it must be thoroughly evaluated once more.

"To send out the police force under these circumstances was irresponsible and a proof of political shortsightedness. Even a political beginner could have foreseen the consequences."

He stated that "we must prepare an unequivocal statement and embrace the meaning and substance of restructuring as the real revolution within a revolution, as a renewal, as its revolutionary change, as its social regeneration and purposeful politics that remove deformations, and clearly distance ourselves from the Stalinist concept of socialism. At the same time we must fully support this kind of socialism and fully support the motivating forces which are implementing it."

Frantisek Pitra, premier of the CSR Government:

He expressed his conviction that "the plenum must give the party and the nation an unequivocal answer about what to do next. The point is whether we shall jeopardize the lifelong work of honest communists who, in the factories, in the fields, and also in their functions, did not enrich themselves and did not lose their citizen's honor."

He said further: "Much revolves around 17 November. I wish to say that I and the entire Czech government, without knowing all the circumstances, consider the intervention to have been politically mistaken in the extreme. The responsible comrades should have kept their nerve. On the other hand we are of the opinion that it is the height of disorganization that we have not been able to show on television how members of Public Security were attacked, because the material was, unfortunately, at the disposal of the comrades in charge."

"In order to provide objective information to the members of the CPCZ Central Committee I wish to announce that the CSR Minister of the Interior informed me by telephone that he respects the principle not to intervene. I learned that the intervention has taken place on television the following day. When I was informed about the situation which existed in the Theatre Department of the Academy of Musical Arts and in the theatres, I immediately asked the prosecutor general to verify objectively who caused this intervention.

"Everything was being readied for the Sunday plenum of the presidium in great haste. After discussing the events the conclusion was reached that one of the representatives should speak on television and calm the public. In the end the task was given to me with the proviso that in view of the unclear situation, it is not for the time being prudent to mention what I asked the prosecutor general to do." In the next portion of his speech he commented on the criticism that the presidium acted belatedly, half-heartedly and slowly, and that it did not have a program to go on the offensive in time. He thought it fully justified. He call it a big mistake that the resolutions, which the 7th Plenum adopted, have been under discussion for almost 2 years. The development of democracy and the activization of the National Front were not successfully reflected in practice. Some changes in the legal code also have not proceeded at the proper pace, etc."

He further stated that "there is a certain lesson to be learned also in the fact that we have taken some practical

steps in economic reform. There are a number of problems there, but on the economic front the situation did not develop the way it did on the political front. In other words, it is obvious that had we proceeded in a similar way to improveg the political system and democracy, events might have taken a somewhat different turn.

"The key question therefore is how to proceed further, what to do in order to cope with the situation. The requirement to put in place a program of immediate steps which would react to the situation, to the demands which people consider justified, and to formulate our goals and course of action accordingly, is warranted."

When he spoke about the proposals for cadre changes, he emphasized: "younger, honest communists, above all able propagandists, must be brought into the party leadership."

Lubomir Strougal:

In the introduction to his speech he stressed that in these complicated moments we must act calmly, specifically, unemotionally, and weigh all the circumstances. The complicated situation brings out differences of opinion, but in the end it is necessary to unite.

He also dealt with the question why part of our society became dubious about our attitude toward the entire complex of restructuring. "We proceeded with consistency, but did we give specific answers to the basic questions of restructuring in time? Particularly about the political system and democratization? Did our own doubts, and I also speak in self-criticism, about the reforms led to irresponsible procrastination? Were professional teams formed, which would work out the reforms for our circumstances? Obviously not, or with indeterminate results. And so we do not have an answer to a new concept of the electoral system, the solution to multi-level national committees which is inseparably connected to the tasks of these basic agencies of people's power in the democratization stage, is being postponed. The alternatives of different approaches to informal groups have not been worked out.

"We were probably doing what we knew how to do, but it must be frankly admitted," he continued. "The question is this: are we able, convinced, firmly determined to introduce the reforms announced by us into the entire complex, and thus restore the confidence in the Central Committee of the Party and the party as a whole, which is the basic prerequisite for coping with the complicated period of the restructuring?"

Comrade Strougal pointed out that "we are working under pressure today. Not we, but others have the initiative, that, too, is a serious warning. Students are on strike in many cities of the republic. They protest. They have strong support from a portion of the society. It is not just the students today. Simply, we find ourselves at a crossroads of destiny. The recent events upset the thesis, which we all accepted, about a stabilized society. We have to cope with extensive expressions of open citizens' dissatisfaction.

At this time it is important, very important, to make a correct diagnosis of what is taking place. Let us not look for the causes of people's dissatisfaction in some anti-state elements who are allegedly organizing everything. That is very dangerous reasoning which can lead us into total isolation."

He further warned against the temptation to deal with the demonstrations and strikes in an example-setting and uncompromising manner. "This is not counterrevolution," he said, "this is an expression of citizens' dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with us, with the way we govern and administer. Let us admit to ourselves our share of responsibility."

The speaker then explained what he considers to be the most pressing issues in the next few days: "First of all, take an open and sincere stand on the police intervention on 17 November and draw preliminary and unequivocal conclusions. The most important thing, however, is to make clear to ourselves what course of action to take that would lead to the realization of political and economic reform in the very near future. People expect concrete action leading to reform, they want to change the way things and relations are today. Today we no longer enjoy the advantage that opposition groups do not have a comprehensive concept of solutions. That advantage was here maybe a few months ago. It is high time to agree on the conclusion that political reforms cannot be reduced merely to a change in the method and style of party work or some other political organisms. It seems that this concept still predominates in the party and it is as naive as the idea that we will be able to enforce anything that we like.

"The deep-rooted idea about a morally political unity of the people was not substantiated. On the contrary, this illusion was contradicted. The reason for that is that today socio-economic as well as socio-political relations within society are and will long remain very complicated, differentiated and conflicting. The party must learn to live and cooperate with a society that entertains a variety of views. We must learn this art.

"It is precisely in situations full of conflict that the influence of communists and their authority are proven, and here we find some disturbing phenomena. The Central Committee discusses a great variety of questions, but one of these days we should discuss ourselves, very openly. Embellish nothing and think about the causes of some weaknesses in party work. This will also verify how successful our policy is."

Miroslav Stepan:

He said that "every day there are about 200,000 to 250,000 people in the streets of Prague, that the functioning of the country is crippled, and the party basically has very limited influence. It would be very simple to say

that we shall not go home until we find the culprit. I myself am for a different solution: let us say, we shall not go home until we know what we want to do today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow so that we reverse the trend and ensure the protection of socialist achievements.

"This afternoon there will be 300,000-400,000 people in Wenceslas Square. Comrades are asking how come, why did you not speak there, why do you not go there. I want to assure you that it is not possible. If yesterday I had spoken from the balcony to the excited crowd in Lokomotivka and told them that I agree, they would have carried me on their shoulders to Wenceslas Square, forgetting that all the buildings have names written on them and that my name is also among them. I do not think that my name is there because I do not have a clear conscience as far as the Party is concerned or have done nothing these days or in the past. I think that it is a serious signal that the matter goes far deeper, having to do not only with the problems within the party, but actually with the dangerous developments in the situation which have to be taken into consideration also in conjunction with other external problems. I think that we all agree that the very foundation of socialism is in danger and that our party as a whole is in danger."

In the next part of his speech he considered the possible methods of coping with the situation at hand. He supported the possibility of convening an extraordinary congress.

He further stated, among other things: "As far as the future course of action is concerned, I fully agree that an exhaustive, intelligible, responsible course of action for the next 2 months, as was mentioned in the report, should be worked out at the next plenum of the Central Committee of the party. So that we can enter into a full dialogue in basic party organizations. So that we can begin discussions to the full. Factory workers find themselves in a complicated situation. Former friends at neighboring machinery cannot agree among themselves and very serious conflicts arise.

"I do not think that this is only the party's problem, but is also the problem of the specific cadres whom we sent out to work in important, as well as economic functions. If industrial managers-communists also take a firm stand in these fateful hours and moments, then, I believe, they will be able to achieve even more than the party committees. For that reason it is essential that all ministers and state officials go to these workplaces. So that we can repair our reputation which was significantly damaged."

Josef Jung:

"We criticized here the party presidium, which resigned, but had all of us, as we sit here, shown as much initiative over the many years as we do today, at least in the things we do not want, although also in those we do want, we need not have sat here. We became engrossed with our own perfection and the fact that we anchored the leading role of the party in the Constitution once and for all and thus ensured the position of the party. Beginning this week, that is no longer so. We have to quickly clarify to ourselves what will be the position of the party, its character, it task within the total political system of our socialist republic. We have to clearly indicate the boundaries between the government and legislative authority and the political authority. Restore to the legislative assemblies their mission given by the laws and the constitution. Beside that, it is unconditionally necessary to include in the government our partners from the National Front, whom we have left for a long time on the sidelines as implementors of our 'wise' decisions, otherwise we shall lose their support. I consider these points to be very urgent in order to provide solutions in the next short-term program of the Party, that means during the very brief time of the next few days or perhaps weeks."

Jiri Purs, publicist, Prague:

He devoted most of his speech to reflecting on the current attitude of workers in the cultural arts. "I can confirm from personal experiences of the past several months," he stated, "that the overwhelming majority of workers in the cultural arts is interested in having culture honestly serve our socialist society."

"The 17th CPCZ Congress," continued J. Purs, "brought great hopes in connection with the developments in the Soviet Union and the content of the 7th and 9th Plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, but after that came the shock of the the January events on Wenceslas Square. I cannot insist that all Prague artists were against the intervention altogether, but what shocked them was the inappropriateness of the intervention by some units. The categorical statements of the Presidium of the Central Committee on their behalf resulted in the first wave of petitions. At the same time there was underway a gradual alienation of the artistic front, particularly artists of the middle generation, whom we had a rather hard time winning over to our policies in the seventies and eighties. At that time, many of us during a meeting of the municipal committee of the party in Prague warned, among other things, against continuing such a policy, against prosecuting signatories of the petitions, and recommended that political work among the masses be intensified."

He further stated that "a broad dialogue was not adequately developed, and suggestions from the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee and signals from the cultural front were not heeded. Similar questions were also heard with great urgency at a writers' meeting in Dobris, at the national conference of the theatre section of the Union of Czech Theatre Artists in June, as well as on many other occasions. Even from the January events it could have been deduced that if the hardline policy were not changed into a policy of real and not just formal and word reforms, nothing good would come of it. Because that did not happen, the alienation of the party from society grew and concurrently with that the social crisis grew as well. The events of 17 November were the

straw that broke the camel's back. Similar situations developed also in other areas of our life."

He further said: "What are the causes of the current situation? Is it really primarily only the influence of Free Europe and some other Western broacasting stations, or is it the influence of perestroika and glasnost, as some are trying to explain it? I think that the cause lies somewhere else. In the contradictions between words and deeds, in a too simplistic evaluation of social phenomena in our society by the appropriate officials of the Central Committee, and to a considerable extent in the underestimating of the need to deal with them with consistency. The underestimating of problems, among other things, has been obvious even now, in the belatedly called extraordinary Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. The causes lie also in the fact that so far we have not succeeded, although we talked about it during the 10th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, to convince the general public of the need and necessity for a fundamental and deep comprehensive restructuring."

Marie Musilkova, agricultural worker, Havlickuv Brod:

She supported the view that the entire Presidium of the Central Committee which, in her words, "in a difficult time did not fullfil its role, should resign and a new, young leadership take its place." She emphasized that it is necessary to work out a short-term program for the party with all speed, and that it is not possible to give excuses that there are no cadres available.

"But the media also disappointed us," continued M. Musilkova. She criticized the fact, for example, that on television much more time was devoted to the proposals of the students who were in favor of the strike, and less time to the views of the workers who were against it. "Why did not television show immediately the scenes that were filmed on Wenceslas Square? Perhaps the situation would have been totally different... Why can the West show them, but here at home in Czechoslovakia we cannot? It is also our disgrace that we react so late to these things. It seems to me that we go to put fires out rather than to prevent them." But she also expressed her dissatisfaction with ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, broadcasting, and RUDE PRAVO.

"The presidium did not heed workers' suggestions. We should then not be surprised that even the workers are dissatisfied," Musilkova then said. Nevertheless, "most of us will not join the strike". She pointed out that workers in the cultural arts, too, should be aware of their responsibility for the development of society.

Justina Radimska, laborer, Spolana Neratovice:

She expressed her conviction that "communists will support the leadership of the party, which, however, must act with much more flexibility. The measures announced thus far are not specific and do not solve the current situation. We cannot argue by spouting cliches. The situation clearly shows that any further waiting by party officials and ignoring of suggestions and proposals are out of place at the time of rapidly developing events. We keep talking about it, but we do not pay attention to these experiences."

Jaroslav Madl, crane operator, Railway Construction Benesov:

He gave information about the socio-political situation in district Benesov, about the influence of the Prague events, and about the views of communists and citizens of the district. In this connection he said among other things that "the workers in agricultrual enterprises and plants, despite the forays of the representatives of the strike committees, refuse a solution of the current situation by means of a general strike."

In evaluating the actions so far of the Presidium and the CPCZ Central Committee as a whole J. Madl pointed to the lack of information on the part of the lower party units. "People criticize," continued J. Madl, "that the leading representatives speak little to the public, and then only in general terms about the causes and solutions of this tense situation. Concerning the information media," he said that "Communists criticize the lack of unity in the work of the information media, I would say even provocative comments by some editors." He emphasized that "the complicated situation notwithstanding, the crushing majority of our citizens wants to continue on the socialist road to development, and asks for peace and order to go on with the work."

Vladimir Mlynar, chancellor of the School of Mining, Ostrava:

"The organization of students in our country into today's forum is done by representatives of illegal structures. They produce a lot of resolutions and statements which they transmit to all our colleges and universities. They adjust the demands so that the formulations and goals are consistent in order to ensure social unrest. We all know that college students did not go out into the streets to protest their students' rights, but that they became to a certain extent a platform for illegal structures. The leadership of the School of Mining and all four departments, as well as the teachers, did not agree with the students neglecting their education and even making demands to proclaim a general strike, including instructing workers and agricultural workers on how they should act. As the chancellor of the School I told the students emphatically at their assembly that teachers are not joining the strike. Some small groups continue attending lectures, and we are discussing with them. I invited the striking students to attend lectures according to schedule, and we are conducting a dialogue with them. But we also have such instances where students attending lectures are being intimidated by the so-called democratic students who tell them that they are traitors and that they will be taken care of. In other words, it is a so-called democracy that is being introduced. Their democracy is the chosen one, and if you do not accept it, they will take action. We are therefore organizing protection for those students who want to study, and we

want to attract other students back to the classrooms to engage in active work and dialogue. The slogan Dialogue yes, Confrontation no, is wise. But it must be adhered to by everyone. For example, yesterday I talked with the strike committee of the School. I was against the strike committee having a copy machine and and editorial center available for the duration of the strike—that is, in their hands. They told me that they can announce an occupation and take the machine by force. They do not have the least experience with following the norms of a government of laws."

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of Defense:

In his speech he followed up on the Thursday statement by the Czechoslovak People's Army concerning the situation, how the Command and the Political apparatus views the situation. He also commented on the proposed cadre changes and said that immediately after the plenum is adjourned, extraordinary meetings of the basic party organizations should be called, to analyze the seriousness of the situation that exists in the republic, on which communists should make an unequivocal statement.

Antonin Kapek:

He dealt with the question who should be at the head of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee. He said that it should be a comrade who is able under these circumstances to represent the party before the public and to convince and win over people. He asked that Central Committee members give very serious thought to who should be elected to head the party. He said that during the time he was active in the CPCZ Central Committee, the methods were "literally adminstratively directive," from which he deduced that it is not very possible to "put the blame for failures on only one person."

Comrade Kapek said: "I state with a full sense of responsibility that if we do not want to make a mistake, and we already made enough of them, also in our cadre policy, I think that we have the duty to reflect and give in a little on some things, which are of a more personal nature, and give preference to a person who is capable."

Miroslava Nemcova, chairperson of the Central Committee of the Czechslovak Women' Union:

'I am convinced," she emphasized, "that despite all the complications which we are experiencing, most citizens are for socialism. Some difficulties which accompany restructuring, particularly in the economy and democratization, weigh heavily on people. It is difficult, for example, to simplify the administration in the national committees. How many applications, uninvestigated and unprocessed, lie in the drawers of various central institutions. The Women's Union receives scores of letters concerning wrong decisions by courts, national committees, etc. That, too, takes away people's willingness to become politically involved and take part in the administration of this country. How much criticism, for example, is leveled at health care. How many notifications of problems in trade and services were given, but not much has improved. The party also neglects the share of women in the administration of society. The CPCZ functionaries should be less self-important and complacent and not act as if they were infallible."

She assured the CPCZ Central Committee that the Women's Union is an organization that is able to act, an organization that supports restructuring under the leadership of our party, and it wants to provide honest work on the platform of the National Front, look after women's interests and requirements, implement them in the appropriate agencies and institutions, do good political work in places of employment, and share in bringing up the new generation.

In conclusion, she emphasized "the need to begin a dialogue not only with the participation of political and government officials, but also with the particiaption of the not obsolete Marxist-Leninist theoretical front. The future partner cannot be called an enemy, much the less publicly, before the dialogue begins. It is essential to create realistic conditions for a thorough scientific knowledge of society, developmental trends, and also of alternative developmental possibilities—naturally, on a socialist basis. It is also necessary to make an analysis of mistakes particularly in the economic theories, consider the state of the sociological front and social practice, and find out why theory is often sterile and practice often impractical. The solution of the current problems in education and upbringing requires a radical approach. The time has come to re-evaluate the entire concept of education and of training teachers."

Zdenek Hlozek, director of the Experimental Production Organization of Forming Technology, Brno:

He dealt primarily with the need to elaborate immediately at the minimum a short-term program for party activity. In that connection he stressed the urgent need to bolster the authority of Party members and their functionaries and support their position, particularly in the lower units.

His next proposal was the establishment of a small work group which would immediately detail suggestions from the discussions at the extraordinary Plenum of the Party Central Committee. It would greatly assist the preparation of a short-term program, so that the newly elected officials could adopt a set of action measures for the next plenum, which then will submit a complete work program.

He recommended "a national dialogue at the level of the National Front. Until recently it has been more of a representative agency, now it needs to become a working agency. Invite everyone to the chambers so that problems could be discussed in peace, so that we can argue reasonably and think about solving things together."

Karel Mracek, chairman of the unified agricultural cooperative Novy Zivot, district Klatovy:

"The work of the basic Party organizations will not be simple even after today's plenum," he said. "But we are determined to win back even those members who resigned, and renew communists' authority. He requested that in future work more heed be paid to the views of the members of the Central Committee and that the presidium does not take on themselves their responsibilities. Also, the commissions of the Central Committee will have to be used more, and they should not be called only once or twice a year."

Vaclav David:

"People expect from this plenum a decisive step toward solving the situation. I am for one single possible solution, that is a political one, he said. I am for talking to the students, and it will do no harm to explain to them to what end they are being used and will continue to be used. I am in favor of conducting a dialogue with everyone who is in favor of correcting shortcomings and for the success of our restructuring.

"There will still be time to evaluate everything and adopt measures to ensure that the party never again finds itself in such a situation. It earned great authority by the heroic fight of its members for liberty in the time of fascism, and now it is being reviled on the same square where 41 years ago tens of thousands of people hailed its victory over the February reactionaries. We experience this with great bitterness, particularly the old communists who worked for the party devotedly and consciously all their lives."

Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR Ambassador to Hungary:

He talked about some of his experiences with the developments in Poland and Hungary, the necessity to make cadre changes. At the same time he emphasized that in making the changes it is essential to observe certain ethics. An opposite approach elicits criticism not only from communists but also from those without party affiliation. To the discussion about the action program he added his view that it should be a short-term program, with a time limit, directed at the most burning issues. As far as a new presidium is concerned, the determining consideration will be that it be able to act and most of all be united.

Vasil Bilak:

He introduced several questions and searched for answers to them. "Is this or is this not an attempt at counterrevolution? Is there an anti-socialist opposition here? Is it announcing itself and speaking? Are those who orate from the balconies of Melantrich on Wenceslas Square really for socialism? And if they are not for socialism, are they against socialism? And what is against socialism cannot be revolutionary but counterrevolutionary. It would do no harm to learn also from the GDR."

Then he talked about the cadre matters. He emphasized that "the interest of the party and socialism is more important than the personal feelings of anyone, that the time has come when in the future the elected representatives of state agencies should not be members of the party leadership. Each function requires a whole person, and the leading functionaries of the party are often in 10 various organizations or agencies. The government should be composed of a broad spectrum of the National Front. That is, invite into it members of other political parties, trade unions, and those without party affiliation. That is a step toward the reform of the political system. The method used on 17 November in Prague is inadmissible, as long as the peace of the people, the socialist foundation of the country, etc., is not threatened."

Comrade Bilek then talked about "the mass communication media, particularly about RUDE PRAVO, which cannot afford to be some vacillating agency, and about the Civic Forum. Let us begin a dialogue with every group which stems from the socialist existence of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. But let us say clearly that we are against those who are in confrontation with the socialist state, with the socialist order."

Krenz Resigns as State Council Chairman

LD0612143789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz resigned today from his position as chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Extraordinary SED Congress Moved Up

LD0612152689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The working commission to prepare for the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress has decided, because of the situation that has arisen in the country and in the party, to convene on extraordinary party congress in Berlin the evening of 8 December 1989.

The working commission will give a report on the situation in the party and its causes, as well as disseminate proposals for radical reformations, starting at the grass roots, of the SED into a modern socialist party that is committed to democratic socialism.

The focal point of the discussion will be the next tasks of the party. It will be proposed that managing bodies be elected at this session of the party congress that guarantee the SED's ability to act as an equal party in the process of the renewal of society. The party congress has to make a definite break with the Stalinist system, and the monopoly of power and the abuse of power that it produced.

The delegates will decide on the mode of continuing the party congress and the time of bringing to account the old Central Committee.

Office for National Security Board Resigns

LD0512204489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2033 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Office for National Security board resigned en masse today.

A press statement passed to ADN also says that the the former minister of state security's deputies, Colonel General Rudi Mittig and Lieutenant General Gerhard Neiber; and 17 heads of major sections in the former Ministry for State Security have been relieved of their functions with immediate effect. Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz remains head of the office.

Combat Weapons Withdrawn From Enterprises

LD0512195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1848 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman for the Interior Ministry informed ADN today that—with immediate effect—arms and technical and special equipment of the combat groups is being withdrawn completely from the enterprises to establishments of the organs of the Ministry for Internal Affairs.

Armored personnel carriers, mortars, recoilless guns, and twin- barrel antiaircraft flak guns are involved.

Armories containing rifles, and to date administered by combat group commanders, will be taken over by the German People's Police. All measures will be taken to ensure the safety of the transfer and reliable protection by the German People's Police.

State Security Chief Notes Probe of Mielke

LD0612100789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The board of the Office for National Security resigned last night en masse. However, Wolfgang Schwanitz himself will remain the head of the office. He rejected calls to resign from the ranks of his colleagues. He told the radio that, in his sphere of authority, openness is imperative in order to gain the confidence of citizens. Schwanitz intimated that the former Ministry of State Security had violated the rights of individuals, such as the secrecy of the post and telecommunications systems. There will be an end to this now. Preliminary investigations of former minister Mielke are under way. As Schwanitz said, the old Ministry of State Security had developed in the end to being an organ of power of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] general secretary.

'Western Intelligence' Links Honecker to Drugs

AU0612095389 Hamburg BILD in German 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Honecker's Gang Dealt With Cocaine"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—How much did they cheat the people in the GDR! The things that are disclosed about Erich Honecker (77), toppled leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and his gang are increasingly outrageous. This criminal collective even dealt in the deadly drug cocaine. Western intelligence services report that large amounts of the drug from South America were transshipped in Rostock harbor. The drugs reportedly were transported in state limousines to East Berlin and then couriers took them to the FRG. [passage omitted]

Police Guard Leipzig National Security Offices

LD0612103389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1001 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—All installations of the Leipzig area [Bezirk] office and the district [Kreis] offices for national security under its jurisdiction have been guarded by members of the German People's Police area authorities since midnight.

This fulfills the demand of a citizens' committee who intend, on the basis of the "Appeal For Reason", to stop files and other materials in this security office from being destroyed or taken away.

Thousands Occupy Security Office in Dresden

LD0512224289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2200 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In Dresden, several thousand citizens occupied the bezirk office for National Security. Office head (?Boehm) had opened the gates under pressure from the demonstrators. They demanded the continued sealing of rooms and archives because there was a suspicion that incriminating material was being destroyed. A spokesman for the New Forum appealed to those present not to use force and to leave the grounds so as not to hinder the State Prosecutor's Office in the checks being carried out. The situation has now eased. Earlier it was announced that the entire board of the office for National Security had resigned en masse.

Situation Described

LD0512223189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Eichhorn] Presenter Alfred Eichhorn. [passage omitted] We have a line to Dresden to my colleague Bischoff. Can you hear me, Mr Bischoff?

[Bischoff] Yes, I am on the telephone at the Office for National Security [words indistinct].

[Eichhorn] [Words indistinct] The area office for security in Dresden was one of the offices that the populace came to today. Could you describe the scene for us?

[Bischoff] Well, it is difficult; the overall situation here is unclear. Groups of citizens, criminal investigators and the State Prosecutor's Office are still going around the building sealing filing cabinets and rooms, the orderly work that began here in the early afternoon. However, I think several thousand citizens are still in the office's grounds, in most of the buildings, and are demanded to entry into, I believe, two buildings that are still sealed. The anger and rage is continuing to escape. At the moment the situation is totally unclear. At the moment the head of the rear office is holding discussions with the area council and the military prosecutor, representatives of the church and demonstrators on how to proceed. The arms room is to be examined since it is feared that force will be used here. People are very incensed; there is still seething danger. The situation really is still totally unclear.

Citizens Enter Building

LD0512210389 Hamburg DPA in German 1947 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—According to eyewitnesses, crowds of GDR citizens forced their way on Tuesday evening [5 December] in Dresden into the former State Security Service's building complex. They clearly wished to convince themselves that there had been no misuse of files and other documents and that important information had not been destroyed. There were "control rounds" in the past hours in the "Stasi" buildings in several towns. The Dresden action is clearly the largest of this type.

Participants reported that at first it was planned that a small group of citizens, including members of opposition groups, would glance into the buildings, but then a crowd of demonstrators numbering thousands forced their way from behind. Photos and microfilm were passed round. "Stasi" buildings and employees are now under the control of the new Office for National Security.

The major [as received] is quoted as saying: "I am incapable of taking action." He urgently requested the crowd not to go into the arms rooms. Several filing cabinets were said to have been sealed. Eyewitnesses reported that they had proof that the shredder had already been used. They had found many strands of paper from destroyed files.

Citizens Occupy State Security Offices

LD0512133789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In various GDR cities, citizens and representatives of the area prosecutors of the German People's Police have prevented documents from disappearing from locked filing cabinets of the former area administration of the State Security Ministry. In Suhl, over 2,000 inhabitants, in a spontaneous protest march, gained entrance to the National Security area office along with members of the New Forum and journalists. The head of the office admitted that in Suhl, as in Erfurt, Leipzig, and Berlin, documents had been destroyed en masse. But these were documents that had been drawn up due to the "security measures already taken last year." After forming a human chain, Erfurt citizens forced entry to the area office in order to prevent the destruction of evidence. Earlier, clouds of smoke were coming from the building. Although the head of the area authorities stated that files on dissidents had already been destroyed, the delegation secured still unburned documents in the basement boiler room, including some on ADN [GDR news agency]. There was also special attention directed to computer technology, and to preventing the erasure of discs.

Foreign Ministry on Company's Arms Trade

LD0512195889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The company IMES GmbH has not been under any obligation to acquire GDR Foreign Ministry approval, the ministry notes in a press statement today. This statement, which came in connection with questions raised by citizens to the ministry regarding information about the company supplying

arms to developing countries, has been passed to ADN. It states that this concern's activities were of a purely commercial nature and had nothing to do with the GDR's foreign policy.

This did not apply to supplies of noncivilian goods that were made to befriended states, at their request, to repel external aggression and to defend their achievements, the statement said. For example, support against military attacks had been granted to the People's Republic of Angola. The supplies accorded with the understanding of solidarity and with international law.

However, to the degree that the change from confrontation to cooperative solutions of global, regional, and interstate problems is advancing, there is less and less justification for the supply of military goods to Third World countries, the spokesman's statement says. In particular, the experiences of recent years show—and the recognition of this was being felt more and more—that conflicts cannot be solved militarily. There followed from this insight the need—which must apply to all sides—to abandon everything that makes possible the continuation of military conflicts in the Third World. For GDR foreign policy, the sole aim could and must therefore be to contribute to a peaceful solution to the problems in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Whether and in what cases and in what forms the GDR should in the future cooperate in the noncivilian area with Third World states, will be reserved to a democratic decision, the press statement says.

On the same day the GDR Defense Ministry spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel, said there is no connection between IMES Gmbh near Kavelstorf and the NVA [National People's Army] establishment at Laage. He strongly rejected rumors that arms and ammunition had been taken from the IMES warehouse to the Army establishment by truck. The establishment's commander was immediately available to relevant investigating organs for clarification of the matter.

The People's Navy Command military prosecutor, Sea Captain Holland-Moritz, was made head of an investigating commission, which has already begun work.

Fugitive Official Schalck May Be in Israel

LD0512150989 Hamburg DPA in German 1431 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Tel Aviv (DPA)—The GDR foreign currency procurer, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, who has been on the run since Sunday [3 December], is said to be in Israel. According to DPA information, Schalck traveled by plane on Sunday or Monday, either directly from the Federal Republic or with a stop in Switzerland, to Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv. According to the information, Schalck-Golodkowski is Jewish, and would therefore have a fundamental right to stay, according to Israeli immigration laws. There are no diplomatic relations between Jerusalem and East Berlin.

Neither the immigration authorities at the airport nor the Interior Ministry could confirm that the foreign currency procurer had entered the country. "It will take at least 5 days to examine the documents from passport control," it was said in Jerusalem. Even secret service circles had "no idea," because Israeli authorities are not involved in the search for Schalck-Golodkowski.

It is thought possible in Tel Aviv that the GDR citizen entered the country with a FRG or forged passport. Citizens from the GDR have to apply for a visa to enter Israel. The processing of such an application takes "at least several days, if not weeks," it was said in Tel Aviv.

Israel Has 'No Clues'

LD0612105989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Tel Aviv (DPA)—Israel's Ministry of the Interior has no clues so far that the fleeing hard currency supplier of the GDR and former state secretary in the foreign trade ministry, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, is in Israel. A spokeswoman for the ministry told DPA today in reply to a query that an initial examination of entry papers on Tuesday evening had produced no evidence for the entry of the fugitive. The investigation will probably be continued today. [passage omitted]

Bonn Asked To Help

LD0512161389 Hamburg DPA in German 1535 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The GDR has asked the federal government for help in the search for Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, the foreign currency procurer who has gone underground. It was said in government circles that a request for a search had arrived in the Chancellor's Office. The request was made to establish whether Schalck-Golodkowski is in the Federal Republic or is traveling through the Federal Republic. There was no mention of detaining him. The federal government would now have to check whether the GDR's request met the requirements that Bonn applies to such requests.

Spokesman on Disappearance

LD0512210289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer has spoken to the international press in Berlin this evening on the case of the missing ex-State Secretary Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski.

The text of his statement is as follows:

1. Before the disappearance of the former state secretary, there were several indications of possible irregularities, for which he appeared responsible. At this time, at the end of November, Schalck was negotiating in the FRG with the responsible people on questions relating to the travel fund to be formed by the GDR and the FRG. In this connection there was doubt on neither side

regarding the person of the man conducting the negotiations. The government of the GDR had no occasion to impede and interrupt these important negotiations by recalling Schalck.

2. On 1 December, the investigating committee of the People's Chamber established that Schalck must make a statement in the People's Chamber on the charges raised against him. On that day, too, no results of investigations by the investigating organs that would have made the arrest of Schalck urgently necessary were known to the government. Whether, at this point, there existed the danger of collusion is outside our knowledge but can surely be established.

3. I stress that this government is also concerned to help to uncover any misuse of office, any form of corruption. We know we are at one in this with the parties of this coalition and also with all political groupings.

4. The talks Prime Minister Hans Modrow conducted today with Minister Seiters, and the planned meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl should not and will not be impeded by the Schalck case. This is the intention of both sides.

Schalck's Deputy Arrested

LD0612131789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1243 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN has learned from the GDR State Prosecutor's Office today that through the investigatory authority of the Office for National Security, the deputy head of commercial coordination, Manfred Seidel, has been arrested. A preliminary investigation has been instituted against him.

There is suspicion that at the instigation of and in combination with former State Secretary [for commerical coordination] Schalck-Golodkowski, he took abroad sums of hard currency to the value of almost DM200 million established so far and thus deprived the GDR national economy.

Measures have been taken by the Ministry of Finances and Prices to limit the damage and to ensure that the accounts established abroad belong to the national wealth.

Because the interrelated matters investigated so far endanger to a high degree the national and state security of the GDR, those investigations that are to be conducted on these matters will, under the management of the GDR State Prosecutor's Office, be transferred to the investigative authorities of the Office for National Security.

Toeplitz Defends Himself

LD0512220389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A statement referring to accusations has been issued and conveyed to ADN today by Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, chairman of the ad hoc committee of the GDR People's Chamber that is examining cases of misuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other proceedings in which there is suspicion of a violation of the law.

"In yesterday's news conference given by the government spokesman and the representative of the citizens' movements it was asked how it was possible for Schalck-Golodkowski to get away. A representative of "Democratic Departure" answered that I had told the head of the Office for National Security, Lieutenant General Schwanitz, by telephone that I thought there was no case against Schalck-Golodkowski. This version does not correspond with the facts. I merely gave a negative answer to a question whether at the time of the telephone conversation on 2 December, investigatory proceedings had been introduced against Schalck-Golodkowski. That is in line with the facts. They were introduced by the Public Prosecutor's Office on Sunday. As a matter of principle, I would like to state that even in this complex time of implementing measures against individual persons, laws must be obeyed."

Prosecutor Orders Arrest of Lawyer Vogel

LD0512182589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Prosecutor's General's Office today ordered the provisional arrest of the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, the press office of the Prosecutor General's Office has announced. Vogel is suspected of criminal blackmail. An arrest warrant has been applied for.

Vogel Detained

LD0512200489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The general state attorney of the GDR instructed on Tuesday that the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel be temporarily detained. Vogel is suspected of criminal blackmail. An arrest warrant was issued.

ADN learned on Tuesday evening—following an inquiry to the press spokesman of the general state attorney, Dr Peter Przybiliski—that lawyer Wolfgang Vogel has meanwhile been detained.

Vogel Released

LD0612000289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2335 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin lawyer and notary professor Dr Wolfgang Vogel, who was arrested tonight, has been released. The GDR state Prosecutor's General's Office has told ADN that the charge of criminal blackmail was proven groundless.

The information that reached the State Prosecutor's Office, which also related in part to the representation of Schalck-Golodkowski by Prof Dr Vogel, was false.

The state Prosecutor General's Office expressed its regret to Wolfgang Vogel.

An examination showed that the accused, in representing Schalck- Golodkowaski, had observed his duty as a lawyer, which included observing the duty of silence.

Vogel Resigns

LD0612094589 Hamburg DPA in German 0918 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, who has been the GDR Government's envoy for humanitarian questions since the building of the Wall in 1961, is to stop working. He has resigned from his government mandate and is also ending his work in his lawyer's practice in East Berlin, Vogel told DPA today.

The 64-year-old was detained temporarily the previous day in connection with the flight of hard-currency supplier Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski. Vogel is now free again. The State Prosecutor General's Office has expressed its regret to him for the unjustified arrest.

Vogel said that he had "to tolerate serious allegations and insults" in connection with the Schalck case. The arrest warrant was issued for "criminal backmail." The lawyer let it be known that this reason was a pretext and that it had concerned the whereabouts of Schalck and similar matters.

Schalck had called Vogel at the weekend after disappearing and had asked for legal representation. Vogel is claiming his lawyer's duty to remain silent.

Arrest a 'Violation'

LD0612132189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1202 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Minister of Justice Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger received the surprising news of the temporary arrest of Professor Wolfgang Vogel on 5 December with consternation.

A ministry statement given to ADN today says that the lawyer's arrest in connection with carrying out a lawyer's duties is a serious violation of the principles of every state based on the rule of law.

In tense internal political situations, especially, it is imperative to respect basic rights and this includes the right to defense.

The minister of justice says tht he supports every GDR lawyer who in this situation is responsibly seeing to his professional lawyers' duties true to legal regulations.

Investigative Commission Receives Tips

LD0512231189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Information was given at a news conference today on initial results for the independent investigative commission of new social groups and organizations against abuse of office and corruption, which was formed at the beginning of the week. In Berlin alone, more than 60 tips had arrived from the population since the previous day, and these had been immediately passed on to the Interior Ministry and the People's Police Presidium. These had shown great readiness to cooperate, representatives of the commission stated to domestic and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

Office for National Security 'Sluggish'

LD0512230989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Possibilities for investigating cases of misuse of office and corruption are not being fully utilized in the Office for National Security. This view was put forward to journalists in Berlin today by Frank Osterloh, the secretary in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany basic organization of the investigatory department of this office.

Numerous investigatory personnel are not being used for this, even though they are willing to do so. By contrast, accusations from the population concerning serious infringements of the law are increasing. The Public Prosecutor's Office is overtaxed, but speedy results are expected. Osterloh spoke of the process of renewal in his office being generally sluggish. He said he thought the renewal process is only possible with personnel changes at all levels. Asked about the head, Dr Schwanitz, he blamed the latter for the present situation.

"We note with deep concern and bitterness that the process of renewal in the Office for National Security is falling behind developments in our country," says a statement conveyed to the press. Measures to change this situation, including personnel changes at leadership level, are therefore urgently required. [passage omitted]

Director Defends Trade Enterprise

LD0512205489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Forum GmbH is a GDR foreign trade enterprise, not a party enterprise. We transfer all our profits, without exception, to the state budget," said Director General Manfred Panse today at a news conference in Berlin. He and his colleagues see themselves unequivocally as a part of the GDR's foreign trade, and he rejected charges linking his enterprise with illegal transactions. The enterprise has not carried out any imports of goods for special shops. Forum intends to generate hard currency for the GDR from the goods taken over from the shops, which have since been closed.

Manfred Panse stated that all profits from the GmbH have been and will be transferred to accounts in the Deutsche Handelsbank AG. He has no information about the remaining use of the money.

Modrow Assumes Heading 'Clean State'

AU0512224689 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Report on interview with GDR Premier Hans Modrow by ORF correspondent Kurt Rammerstorfer in East Berlin; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Investigations have been initiated against more than 100 people who are involved in corruption.

[Begin recording] [Modrow] I am not the authority that has to carry out the investigations. The government bears the responsibility to ensure that we do everything that is necessary to avoid the risk of collusion, and—I consider this the decisive responsibility—to create conditions so that such negative developments cannot be repeated.

[Rammerstorfer] Why did the security authorities only intervene—massively—at such a late stage? Has this not caused a loss of credibility with the population?

[Modrow] I cannot deny this. However, these problems do not only immediately concern the government. You know that many of these affairs are connected with parties, and I quite deliberately say with parties, and not just with one party. After all, this is becoming more and more obvious.

[Rammerstorfer] What can the government or what can the premier do to contain the damage in this case?

[Modrow] I have already mentioned that I have started this process. For example, all of the problems that were connected with privileges in hunting grounds—just to mention one example—have already been solved. Such hunting grounds will simply cease to exist in the GDR. They will be put under normal management; and the hunting societies, which are very popular in the GDR, take great responsibility for the care of the forests and for huntsmanlike and sensible work in this field. I am not very familiar with this subject, and I do not know its exact terminology.

[Rammerstorfer] So you are not a hunter yourself?

[Modrow] Not an enthusiastic hunter, even though I was invited to a hunt by other hunters, which is also true. One must not forget that in our country forestry came under the bezirks' authority many years ago. Then people would say that we cannot only evalutate the timber together, but once we are in the woods we also have to [words indistinct]. I even shot a stag; yes, I even achieved this in my lifetime. However, I am not an enthusiastic hunter.

[Rammerstorfer] But you have never shot a buck [einen Bock geschossen, which also means to make a blunder], have you?

[Modrow] I hope that there are very, very few bucks. Who can say that one will not shoot one?

[Rammerstorfer] Mr Premier, how is it possible that certain events did not become public for such a long time? Many people must have known about them.

[Modrow] There can be no doubt that many people knew about these affairs, however, it was especially those who themselves were involved in them [who knew]. In this context—and I use another hunting term—the people involved, of course, provided cover for each other.

[Rammerstorfer] Are you not afraid that your clean slate might get stained because of these affairs?

[Modrow] You know very well yourself that all of those who bear responsibility and are active in public life are always subject to public criticism. I will not be excluded from this criticism. As far as the slate is concerned, I can assume that it is clean. [end recording]

Chamber Resolution on Investigation Committee

AU0512144289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Dec 89 p 4

["Resolution on the Investigation Committee"]

[Text] On the further work of the temporary investigation committee, the deputies unanimously adopted the following resolution:

On the basis of the GDR People's Chamber resolution of 18 November 1989 on the composition of the temporary committee of the GDR People's Chamber for the investigation of cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other activities, which are suspected of being violations of the law, the People's Chamber decides to convey the following powers to the committee:

1. The investigation committee is empowered to demand documents and files from state organs, institutions, social organizations, parties, and enterprises. The abovementioned institutions are obligated to immediately hand over the requested documents and files. Representatives of the investigation committee may read the documents and files in the aforementioned institutions or take them away.

2. The committee is empowered to summon persons involved, witnesses, and experts for a hearing. The aforementioned persons are obligated to appear upon the summons of the committee.

3. The witnesses and experts summoned by the committee are subject to the regulations of the code of criminal procedure regarding the duties of witnesses and

experts. Persons involved have the duty to give testimony, and the privilege they have to decline to answer questions is the same as that of a witness in a criminal trial.

4. Cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other activities that are suspected of being violations of the law, which are discovered by the investigation committee, are to be sent to the GDR prosecutor general in line with the valid legal regulations.

Further on Honecker's Hunting Grounds

AU0512145989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Dec 89

[ND report: "Mueritz Kreis: Veil of 'Drewitz Object' Lifted"]

[Excerpts] Waren—In the former Nossentiner Heide state hunting grounds in the western part of Mueritz Kreis, the so-called "Drewitz object" extends over 13.45 hectares, the hunting and recreation grounds of the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker. The entire state hunting ground comprised 11,500 hectares. [passage omitted]

About 2 weeks ago, a Western-made color television set and a stereo set with sophisticated radio and safety equipment as well as telephone systems were allegedly removed from the object. This was ordered from the Wandlitz settlement after several hundred citizens from the neighborhood had demanded entry during several weekends.

Erich Honecker only spent short periods in Drewitz, usually to hunt. In the past 2 years, he also spent part of his vacation there. The journalists did not receive an answer as to who financed all this and what is to become of the object.

Peasants' Party Issues 'Corruption' Statement

LD0512190589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Everything must now be done to prevent the "worsening situation in the country and the justified rage of the population about criminal actions by former top officials sliding into anarchy and chaos, into unlawfulness and vigilantism." This is stressed by the party executive Presidium of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DBD) in a press statement on its consultations today.

It is indispensible that "the efforts to investigate and clear up misuse of power and corruption and pass judgment on all former officials who are guilty should be carried out considerably more quickly, more comprehensively, consistently, and with the greater inclusion of the public."

The presidium expresses the expectation that Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR State Council, his deputy, and all the members of the State Council will immediately resign.

At the same time, it states that its participation in the Democratic Bloc has been terminated, and declares its support for the policy of the roundtable, which is to be effective in the sense of broad understanding about social renewal. The party chairman, Dr Guenther Maleuda, and Presidium members Dr Georg Boehm and Michael Koplanski were named as participants for the discussions in this body.

The presidium has proposed to the party executive that a special DBD congress should be convened in Berlin in March 1990 and that resolutions for its preparation should be adopted.

Amendment on Criminal Law Drafted

LD0512194689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Non-violent resistance must not be criminalized. This is one of the key concepts of the 6th Criminal Law Amendment Act, a draft of which has now been submitted to the Justice Ministry, according to a press office announcement.

The material the press office passed to ADN today further states: The draft proceeds on the basis of the social changes in the GDR and reflects the criticisms, demands, and proposals on criminal law that have been expressed in the People's Chamber, in fora, and in demonstrations.

The criminal law should be applied wherever attempts are made to implement political aims with threats, force, and terror, regardless of by whom.

Above all, regulations concerning state crimes and criminal actions against public law and order have been completely redefined and partially rescinded.

The draft proposes completely annulling criminal offenses such as treasonable distribution of intelligence (paragraph 99); smuggling human beings, which is hostile to the state (paragraph 105); and forming unlawful contacts (paragraph 219). Of the existing regulations concerning incitement hostile to the state (paragraph 106) and public disparagement (paragraph 220), only the glorification of fascism or militarism, as well as racial incitement, will be punishable offenses.

In the future, impairing border security (paragraph 213) will only call for prosecution in cases of direct attacks on the state border.

Existing regulations concerning hindrance of state and public activity (paragraph 214) and riotous assembly (paragraph 217) are to be completely redrafted and

restricted to violent actions. The much-criticized regulation on immunity from criminal responsibility (paragraph 25, section 2) is to be rescinded.

The draft also envisions lifting the existing regulations concerning breach of public law and order through anti-social behavior (paragraph 249) and infringement of legal measures and additional sentencing (paragraph 230).

The draft, drawn up by a legislative commission headed by Secretary of State Dr Siegfried Wittenbeck, is to be referred to the committees of the People's Chamber, parties, social organizations, and all participants at the "roundtable" for further discussion.

SED Working Groups Prepare for Congress

LD0512195689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The eight working groups of the Working Committee to prepare for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary congress began their work today.

It emerges from a report from the working committee released to ADN that the work will be based on a large number of theoretical formulations, suggestions, applications, and proposals made by kreis [district] delegate conferences, grass-roots organizations and individual party members. They aim for immediate measures to overcome the crisis in the SED, and for fundamental programmatic concepts and orientations for a future modern socialist party and its place in society.

The committee is to be presented tomorrow with the draft of a provisional party statute, which will then be published in the party press, in order to give the delegates to the party congress and the members an opportunity for discussion before the congress. [passage omitted]

Reform Proposals Made

AU0612111889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Wolfgang Herger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, by Dieter Bruecker; date and place not given: "1,500 Proposals Submitted to Party Congress By Now, Every One Will Be Taken Into Consideration"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Some time ago, a commission was set up in the Central Committee dealing with all proposals to the extraordinary party congress. How does it work?

Wolfgang Herger: First of all, the main thing is to take into account all proposals without any exception, every single one must be and will be taken into consideration. They are handled by experts from the most diverse fields. The commission will submit its recommendations and proposals to the commission for proposals that will be elected by the delegates to the party congress.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: How many proposals have been received so far?

Wolfgang Herger: Every day the Central Committee receives on average 40 to 60 proposals with constructive requests. Now we have about 1,500 proposals altogether. Two-thirds of the people submitting them are workers and employees. Every third proposal is made by a collective. There are also numerous proposals and ideas from members of the scientific-technological, pedagogic, and medical intelligentsia, from artists, social scientists, craftsmen, veterans of labor, women, and young people.

We will also thoroughly evaluate the many valuable proposals, statements, and criticisms, as well as personal concerns with which non-party citizens, comrades, members from the friendly parties, from mass organizations and movements for democracy, party and work collectives trustingly turn to the Central Committee in telephone calls, telexes, or by visiting the information and consultation center.

Thoughts on the Statute and Party Life

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Our readers will also be interested in the contents of these proposals.

Wolfgang Herger: The majority of the proposals—so far 423, or 30 percent have been made concerning the statute of our party. There are also many questions regarding the further economic-political (320 proposals) and sociopolitical (297 proposals) development. And 164 proposals deal with intraparty life, 154 deal with national and legal issues, 35 proposals deal with education and culture, and 31 with the program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. And 45 proposals are being handled as petitions.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: There are certainly many different opinions, even conflicting viewpoints?

Wolfgang Herger: That is right. But I want to underline another aspect: the pertinence of the proposals, the wealth of valuable ideas, and possibilities proposed for solving problems. And I think it is also important to stress that not a single proposal questions socialism, but there are proposals to completely renew it.

Basically there are two fundamental questions:

1) What is the future of socialism in the GDR?

2) What will our party's role be in this process?

I also want to state that many requests that clearly fall under the competence of the government will be directly passed on to it.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: You mentioned a great number of proposals and ideas on questions of socialist economic management. Our editors also receive many

letters on this subject every day. What can you tell us about the contents of these proposals?

Wolfgang Herger: The main issues are planning and proportionality, obtaining means by self-financing, the implementation of the performance principle and a new wage policy. Many propose the creation of a system of incentives in which social safety and higher efficiency do not preclude one another.

The NARVA combine or the Eberswalde crane-building VEB submitted proposals for a performance increase, for strengthening specific developments and increased efficiency, together with concrete ideas on changing the performance plan targets.

There are various proposals to rethink attributions to and incorporations into a combine.

There are also questions about the possibilities of founding small and medium-sized private enterprises for the production of consumer goods. There are also proposals that craftsmens' businesses should be able to develop without any bureaucratic limitations, up to the size of efficient enterprises.

I want to mention the letter by Comrade Zschischang from the department for basic assets of the Schwarzheide synthesis plant as an example for all the other letters with which we are dealing. In his proposal, comprising 10 pages and marked by deep concern, he mentions a number of urgent problems, including the better utilization of computer technology, more efficient investments, problems of intensification related to the enterprise's equipment, and excessive expenditure on labor.

How About The Subsidy Policy?

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Wherever the necessary economic reforms are discussed, the policy of granting subsidies is also mentioned. What proposals have been submitted?

Wolfgang Herger: First of all: Many letters reveal the citizens' esteem for the results of the social policy and the fact that they do not want to miss the achievements that have been made. But at the same time, 78 proposals call for a new approach to our support policy in order to avoid abuse. The majority of the proposals call for measures that would stop the waste of water, energy, and subsidized foodstuffs, as well as price speculation and unjustifiable generosity concerning living space.

Regarding rents, there is the question of social justice. For instance, the collective for production readiness in the data bank of the Berlin data processing center for statistics VEB wrote: "Rents should be subsidized only within a certain norm target that has to be determined in line with the social average living space according to the number of people living in the household. Any additional living space must be paid in accordance with the real national economic expenditure."

There are proposals to hold a referendum on adhering to or changing the previous policy of granting subsidies. Our own historic experiences demonstrate that a referendum in phases of revolutionary restructuring, of radical change to all structures of society liberates a considerable democratic potential, and helps to ensure that reforms are maintained and actively supported by the majority of the people.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: We know from our readers' letters that when sociopolitical issues are involved, many older citizens come forward with their questions and concerns.

Wolfgang Herger: I can only confirm this. In their letters and also at visits to the Central Committee, many older citizens speak out in favor of letting veterans of labor benefit more from the sociopolitical measures in the future. A reduction of the retirement age is the subject of 43 proposals. Some proposals also suggest a reduction in worktime for working people shortly before their retirement, consideration of further, varied increases in old-age pensions, a greater availability of housing that matches the requirements of the elderly, and greater appreciation for those who look after relatives needing care in their private households.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: At the beginning, you referred to many views on shaping the socialist state of law. Tell us something about that.

Wolfgang Herger: Here there are many requests concerning a clear separation between party and state, the elimination of the SED's claim to leadership as laid down in the Constitution. Comrades are right when they maintain that the leading role of the SED must be fought for again and again every day, it must never again be abused as a monopoly of power in the state. There are also proposals to limit the term of office of the chairman of the State Council, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as of the functionaries and the state leaders. They also propose measures to preserve the autonomy and independence of all elements of the political system, in particular of the trade unions. In this connection, it is also requested to allow constitutional civil rights groups.

We support the proposal to found a polling institute. It could help to create important scientific foundations for shaping policy and also be of advantage for preparing and holding elections.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: And what are the opinions on the party statute?

Wolfgang Herger: Among others, there are requests for limiting the periods for electoral functions and determining an age limit for leading party functionaries.

In addition, there are proposals for future party elections, for the direct election of party secretaries, with various candidates being nominated.

The outline of a new party statute will be presented at the extraordinary party congress.

SED's Property is Also Protected by the Law

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: There are also discussions regarding the material property of the party.

Wolfgang Herger: Yes, that is also an issue in the letters. I want to state: This property consists mainly of structures and buildings for leaderships and institutions of the SED, as well as equipment, machines, vehicles and so on. By the way, this is not a special feature of the SED, but also applies to the other parties and many social organizations in our country. The material property of the SED has been acquired from the party's financial receipts and thus is expressively protected by the GDR Constitution (Article 10, 11) just like any other property, for instance national property or the citizens' private property. Corresponding stipulations are also contained in civil law (Sections 17 to 42 of the Civil Code) and in the penal law (Sections 157-184 of the Penal Code).

Therefore, it is the SED's task alone to decide how to use its property. It is planned that, in particular, the recreation facilities of the party will be accessible to all members and candidate members of the SED, and also to other parts of our country's people. As this must be done on a commercial basis, as is done in similar institutions, some organizational questions must be clarified.

For this reason, such an expanded utilization will be possible only gradually, beginning with January 1990. There are also considerations concerning an enlarged utilization of party schools and guest houses, taking into account the local requirements.

In conclusion, I want to state that I ask you to understand that not every proposal can be answered personally. As I said at the beginning, all proposals are being examined carefully.

Politburo Resolution Announcing Resignation

AU0612143589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Dec 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Criticism From Grass Roots Led to Resignation of Politburo"]

[Text] East Berlin—The resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany reads as follows:

The Politburo accepts the criticism expressed by large sections of its members to the effect that the current party leadership has not succeeded in uncovering the whole extent and gravity of the offenses committed by members of the former Politburo, and in drawing the required conclusions, as decided at the 9th and 10th sessions of the Central Committee. This statement must be made, despite the fact that members of the current Politburo, who were also members of the previous leadership, have contributed decisively to bringing about the personnel and political changes that have been initiated among the party leadership. In order to prevent a threat to the existence of the party, as well as to ensure the political and organizational preparation of the party congress, the Politburo considers it necessary to announce its resignation.

Defense Minister Describes Problems of Troops

LD0512180489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1656 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann told ADN today that the GDR National People's Army [NVA] is meeting its obligations on the basis of the GDR Constitution. In this sense, the members and civilian staff of the NVA and GDR Border Troops are ensuring the reliable protection of the country externally and the safeguarding of the GDR state borders, he said.

Tens of thousands of them, said the minister, are carrying out their duties in production, in the transport system, health service and in many other workplaces, which have become indispensible for maintaining a normal life. "I would like to emphasize that the limit has been reached and that any more deployment would impair combat readiness." All those deployed have suffered great physical and mental problems. This also applies to the units remaining in the barracks, whose daily service has become more strenous and is subject to many restrictions. "As a minister in the Modrow government I express my heartfelt thanks to everyone for this."

Like the majority of citizens, the members of the NVA and the GDR Border Troops are full of anger and indignation about the unscrupulous, disgraceful policy of the leading party and state leadership that is deeply contrary to the interests of the people, the admiral said. Many of them are disappointed about the sluggish progress being made in the speedy and consistent implementation of necessary measures to renew our country.

The defense minister stated with deep concern that despite the performances of the soldiers in the interests of the people and the the country, attacks on the NVA, on army members and their families are increasing. They want the same as the people: an honest life in human dignity, democratic self-realization and social justice, he said. "I appeal to the representatives of the parties, political organizations and movements in our country in the spirit of preserving peace, order and security. Join us in helping to preserve conditions that will allow the members of the NVA and GDR Border Troops to fulfill their tasks in the interests of the people in keeping with the present situation."

Military Party Aktiv Supports Reforms

AU2411190589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 p 2

[Rainer Funke: "Military Reform in the Armed Forces"]

[Text] The revolutionary renewal needs peace and security. The National People's Army [NVA] and the GDR border troops support it and participate in shaping it. This was how a party aktiv session in the Defense Ministry summed up the situation.

A great number of current problems were discussed during the debate. Joachim Goldbach intensively dealt with the military situation. At the moment a military confrontation between NATO and Warsaw Pact is unlikely, but that is no reason to relax one's vigilance. At present, too, there is the danger that provocations and conflicts erupt at the national border, he said. In this connection he referred to the exclusive external protection function of the Armed Forces, which is set down in the Constitution.

Ideas concerning the necessary military reform played a dominating role in the debate—for instance, in the speeches by Guenter Fritz and Alfred Dziewulski of the Political Main Administration, which has worked out corresponding ideas; these ideas were available to the party activists and also to the reporter of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. First and foremost, it is necessary to implement the basic principles of modern socialism in the GDR—high efficiency, democracy, social justice, and high ethics—also in the armed forces. By sticking to indispensable maxims, such as individual leadership [Einzelleitung], conditions are established that guarantee the democratic participation of everyone in decisions. These are the first considerations for more efficient work of the commanding organs and of military life in general.

It is urgently necessary to actively include science in the military sector into the preparation of decisions and decision-making itself, and to intensify cooperation with the fraternal armies in a new way. These were ideas from the draft on military reform.

Manfred Graetz discussed the defamations that army members are subjected to. For instance, it is not a question of privileges in general but unjustified favors that individual people presumed for themselves. Special sales outlets for command cadres have already been closed.

The army's own recreation homes must not be abolished since the professional cadres, all of whom are not members of the Free German Trade Union Federation, cannot use facilities of the trade union. He suggested reducing the number of NVA hostels and opening part of them to the citizens.

Fritz Streletz stressed that the situation that has developed forces every command cadre in the army to undergo a profound process of learning and to thoroughly re-examine his own style of work. He considered criticism justified about the fact that the army command has not solved problems far-sightedly. Legal bases for alternative service are being intensively discussed.

Hans Suess discussed, among other things, reform proposals for the NVA training institutions. Honesty and frank dealings with each other, from the civilian employee to the general, were called for by Doris Masch.

Other speakers at the discussion suggested to discuss and further develop the draft of the army reform among all army members and civilian employees, among practical workers and scientists—and this should be done quickly because time is of the essence.

Internal Affairs Advisory Groups Discussed

LD0512150189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the public dialogue between People's Police representatives and members of other organs of the Internal Affairs Ministry, demands are currently being made and proposals submitted to make possible, through the creation of non-state interest-representing groups, the democratic involvement of all members. The GDR Interior Ministry informed ADN today that in all departments, quartered units and schools, departmental advisory committees could be formed through secret and democratic elections, to represent the interests of the collectives and of individual members and to support the members in the resolution of conflicts of interest. The minister had apparently already submitted proposals last week to the subordinate departments, which support this process and make possible a broad discussion.

It was also learned that a working group has been set up in the Internal Affairs Ministry to deal with possibilities for the trade union representation of interests of those workers of the organs of the Internal Affairs Ministry who were public employees.

NDPD Against National Front, for New Movement

AU3011191789 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 89 p 1

[Message from Guenter Hartmann, NDPD chairman, to Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front—date and place not given]

[Text] Berlin—Guenter Hartmann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], has conveyed a message to Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, which reads as follows:

There are many discussions in the NDPD about the purpose and prospects of the GDR National Front. We think it would be more purposeful to abstain from renewing the present structures of the National Front, in particular in the bezirks and kreises, and create a new movement relying on developments that start, or have even already started, from below. In its statements and demands for political pluralism in the GDR, the NDPD has included the fact that, with the great movement for democracy in the country, direct forms of socialist democracy have been created outside the organizational

structures of the National Front—and often in opposition to it. It is noted that the National Front is influenced by one party.

At present, one should refrain from elections to the committees of the National Front in residents' assemblies.

Wherever local committees work successfully and on a fairly comprehensive basis, they should be supported. But it is certainly a disputable method to revive other committees that are able and willing to work.

The NDPD—I think I can affirm this—would be open to all considerations that create common ground among all democratic forces of our country on the basis of equal rights and equal obligations, with the great aim of renewing socialism. We think that, irrespective of all differences that exist and must exist, there are many common interests. And this is the subject on which discussions should be started in our country, which in the end would result in the proper forms of coming together.

Daily Denounces 'Democratic Movement' Flier

AU2611164489 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Nov 89 p 1

[Rainer Stephan commentary: "A Call for Sabotage"]

[Text] In the plenary hall of the People's Chamber, it took some deputies' breath away when one deputy read the flier of a "Democratic Movement," which he had found in his mailbox. "Causing disquiet is now the citizens' duty," it said. All those who do not agree with the existing conditions should switch on all available electric appliances, stoves, heaters, and immersion heating elements at the same time and should briefly take out the fuses and put them in again. The intention: to bring about the immediate collapse of the electricity network. Everybody would be affected, households as well as enterprises and means of transportation. It is little consolation that experts give assurances that the power network of the socialist countries is strong enough to tolerate such power fluctuations, but they warn of fires in the meter boxes!

This appeal is not a form of protest anymore, it is a call for open sabotage. Whoever disseminates such fliers wants neither a democratization of the society nor an economic reform. He only wants a collapse. I think that it was not for such a "freedom of opinion" for which hundreds of thousands of people took to the street. Even though the population is in favor of a change, it is not in favor of a change toward chaos.

However, I was shocked about one thing: about the naivete with which one deputy in front of the running camera contributed to the million-fold dissemination of the appeal by citing the day and the hour of the planned actions. But perhaps, the deputies, too, have to get accustomed to the new publicity gradually.

Gorbachev, Baker Concepts for Europe Viewed

AU0512144889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Dec 89 p 2

[Guenther Anders editorial: "Two Concepts for Europe"]

[Text] Two versions for a future Europe are emerging increasingly clearly. One was presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in Rome. It is aimed at continuing the path toward peace, security, and cooperation that started with the Helsinki Final Act and on which it is based. In the Soviet view, the positive changes on our continent allow a more rapid pace but also make it necessary to ensure the preservation of stability. "Helsinki II" should not take place as late as in 1992, but in the coming year, the Soviet statesman suggested.

The second concept was presented by U.S. Secretary of State Baker. His call for a reunification of Germany and its membership in NATO is directed toward a basic change in the European balance of power and a destabilization of the situation on the continent. In this connection, Baker explicitly rejected a "unity for neutrality" deal; that means he spoke against an Austrian solution.

One need not be a prophet to predict the following: If the states and peoples in Europe follow Gorbachev's proposals, not only will the longest peace period on our continent last, but there will also be progress concerning the construction of a common European home. However, if those who want to incorporate our socialist country into the capitalist FRG, which belongs to NATO, get their way, Europe would face a very uncertain future. With its basic principles of the inviolability of the borders and the territorial integrity of the states, the whole Helsinki Final Act would collapse. The concerns of the peoples on the continent would increase who fear that another war might start from German soil.

Gorbachev spoke of the need of free decision by the peoples concerning the order of our continent. Baker spoke of the right to self-determination. Despite the fact that they use similar formulations, they mean completely different things. However, one thing is certain in view of these differing standpoints: The attitude of the GDR citizens has assumed an extraordinary weight for the future of Europe. It is the external consequences of our internal development and also the international impact of the decision that has been demanded in the appeal "For Our Country" that affect Europe. Our self-determination involves great responsibility. Those who support the appeal do not only decide in favor of a socialist alternative on German soil, for antifascist and humanistic ideals, but also for peace and the security of all European peoples.

Modrow, Seiters Brief Press After Meeting

LD0512172489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Citizens of the FRG and inhabitants of Berlin (West) will be able to travel to the GDR

without visas and without exchanging a minimum amount of money beginning 1 January 1990. This announcement was made by Rudolf Seiters, the minister in the FRG chancellor's office, and GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow at a news conference in Berlin today. It was further announced that a joint hard currency fund is to be set up that will be supplied by both sides.

The two sides also agreed to 19 December as a date for a visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the GDR. The talks will be held in Dresden.

The welcoming money for GDR citizens in the FRG and Berlin (West) will also be cancelled in its present form. The FRG will contribute this money to the fund, said Seiters. Both sides will also pay DM750 million each to the fund. The latter is to make available financial resources for trips by GDR citizens to western countries.

Press Statement

LD0512185489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The following press statement was issued in Berlin today on the talks between Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Chancellory Minister Rudolf Seiters:

Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Rudolf Seiters, the head of the federal chancellory and minister for special tasks of the FRG, in Berlin today for a further talk on questions of mutual interest regarding the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. These talks centered on questions relating to travel and also the preparations for the visit by Chancellor Kohl to the GDR.

It was proposed that Chancellor Helmut Kohl meet Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on 19 December 1989 in Dresden for a working meeting.

To settle particularly urgent questions that have emerged in connection with the new scale of travel, agreement has been reached that beginning 1 January 1990, for a transitional period of 2 years, a joint fund will be established to finance travel expenditure. Each year every traveler from the GDR can acquire up to DM200 from this fund (DM100 for children up to 14) to cover travel expenses in exchange for GDR marks. During the first year a rate of 1:1 will apply for a sum of DM100 (DM50 for children up to 14). For the remainder the exchange rate will be 1:1.5. The exchange can be carried out either in the FRG or the GDR. The Deutsche mark amounts required for exchange will be provided by both sides. The Federal Republic of Germany will make a contribution up to the total that results from the amount used to pay the welcome money to date plus a further contribution of DM750 million. The GDR will also contribute DM750 million and, beginning 1 January 1990, will forego levying the minimum exchange for persons with official personal documents from the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West). Making hard currency available will take place in the course of the year according to need, and in accordance with the share of both sides.

The incoming amounts in GDR marks will be used for infrastructure projects in the GDR, which are in the interests of both sides, particularly in the areas of transport, including the expansion of transit routes and crossings, tourism, and town renovation. Decisions will be made jointly by the two governments on this.

The details on the establishment of the fund, including accounts, monitoring, and disposal of the counterpart funds, will be regulated in an agreement between the German Bundesbank and the GDR state bank. The regulation should also be valid for Berlin (West).

In good time before the beginning of 1991, a checking of the modalities with the possibility of a revision will be undertaken.

It was also agreed to arrange that during the accounting of the services provided by each side in railway passenger traffic between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—excluding the transit traffic between the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West)—in the years 1990 and 1991, the amount of the negative balance of the [East German] Deutsche Reichbahn that exceeds 35 million units of account per year be borne by the [West German] Deutsche Bundesbahn to the tune of 75 percent and Deutsche Reichsbahn to the tune of 25 percent. The regulations necessary for this will be agreed on between representatives of the transport ministries.

The GDR declares its readiness to increase from DM70 million to DM100 million annually in the years 1990 and 1991 the transfer of credit balances payment in particular cases. Over and above this, at the start of the first quarter of 1990 it will make a one-time payment of DM60 million.

Prime Minister Modrow expressed to Federal Minister Seiters the GDR's readiness to further ease travel, and in view of the fact that the FRG requires no visa from travelers from the GDR, for its part to lift the visa requirement for people with an official identity document from the FRG and (West) Berlin from 1 January 1990. This also applies to transit traffic. The need to register arrivals and departures with the police and the need for residence permits for a stay of up to 30 days are also dropped. Entry bans that have been in existence are—with a few exceptions—lifted.

The GDR government will examine whether a rate other than 1:1 for Deutsche marks to GDR marks can be established for visitors from the FRG to the GDR. This will be discussed again in light of further developments.

Prime Minister Modrow conveyed to Federal Minister Seiters the GDR's agreement in permitting the western Berlin ring road, the Staaken border crossing point (initially for private vehicles only), and Highway 5 up to the highway

junction, as well as Highways 1,2,5, and 7, to be included in the sphere of the present border crossing points for transit traffic from 1 January 1990 to alleviate transit traffic between the FRG and (West) Berlin.

The details of this and further improvements in transit and alternating traffic will be laid down by the transport minister and/or in the transit and traffic commissions.

The GDR declares its readiness to examine the question of the concurrent adoption of crossing points in Berlin for people bearing official identity documents from the FRG and for people bearing official identity documents from (West) Berlin.

The GDR will further, from 1 January 1990, lift the existing importbans on used goods, television sets, and video recorders, video cassettes, and duplicating machines, and with the exception of motor vehicles, no longer impose import duties.

Both sides also agreed to continue faster or to begin immediately talks on:

—expanding trade and economic cooperation, particularly the admission of mixed companies, and on expanding the development of toruism;

—intensifying cooperation on environmental protection;

—improving posts and telecommunications, modernizing the GDR telephone network, and establishing a new fixed amount for postal services; and

—constructing a rapid rail link between Hanover and Berlin.

More on Discussions

LD0512220489 East Berlin ADN Internatonal Service in German 1826 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Berlin] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking to the press today, FRG Chancellory Minister Seiters described his discussions with GDR Prime Minister Modrow as good. He believes that the results of the talks will benefit the people in both German states.

In the economic sphere, the chancellory minister recalled a series of contacts between the two states. For example, the FRG is prepared for agreements on environmental protection and there are thoughts on imnproving telephone links and telecommunications.

Head of government Modrow assessed the agreements as significant for the further meetings between the citizens of the GDR and the FRG. At the same time he stressed once again the seriousness of the treaty-based community he had proposed. The point now is the work between the two German states. This must be further clarififed at the meeting with Chancellor Kohl, both as regards the way in which the two sovereign German states, existing independently of one another, are tied into the European house, and also as regards their bilateral relations.

Asked about former State Secretary Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, Modrow said that the latter had in the past been a partner in talks who had been recognized by both sides. All the necessary documentation—which had been correct—on the GDR-FRG negotiations conducted at the end of last week by Schalk, had been passed to him for today's talks.

Mayors of 2 Berlins Hold 1st Direct Meeting

LD0512150789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] (ADN)—This morning Mayor of Berlin Erhard Krack and the Governing Mayor of West Berlin Walter Momper held their first direct meeting on questions of cooperation between the GDR capital and West Berlin.

In short statements before the beginning of the first official talks, the two mayors expressed great optimism. They were not, either personally or, on this particular matter, starting from scratch, Walter Momper said in reference to meetings at various levels held so far. Erhard Krack supported this and stressed that it is important that they consider together how the two, using the possibilities open to them as local politicians, could do all in their power to ensure that life, and, above all, relations between the citizens are shaped in such a way as to bring about further positive developments. What should now come under consideration, above all else, is the question of which new areas in particular should be opened up, Erhard Krack said. This is not only a question of transportation matters, not only of environmental protection, but also of questions that are of great significance for the citizens.

Erhard Krack had earlier told GDR journalists that there could be discussion of all local problems. Problems of state and status and foreign exchange questions should be resolved at a different level. A basic condition of the talks is that the four-power-status should not be violated.

press briefings are expected after the talks.

Mayoral Meeting

LD0512134889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There was a meeting this afternoon between the mayor of Berlin, Erhard Krack, and the mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, for their first direct talks about substantial issues concerning cooperation between the GDR capital and Berlin (West).

After a brief welcome they began the official talks at about 1340 in the Stadt Berlin hotel on the Alexanderplatz in the presence of the deputy mayor of Berlin for international liaison in the communal sphere, Dr Wolfgang Schmahl, and the head of the State Chancellory of the Senate, Professor Dieter Schroeder.

It was learned that discussion is to focus mainly on issues relating to citizens, traffic connections, infrastructure, and other communal problems. After the conclusion of the talks there are to be statements to the press.

Further on Meeting

LD0512215389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1601 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The mayor of Berlin, Erhard Krack, and the governing Mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, met today for the first official talks on local cooperation between the GDR capital and Berlin (West). This new development in Berlin's East-West dialogue took place at the hotel 'Stadt Berlin' on the Alexanderplatz.

Speaking to the press afterward, the two politicians described the meeting, which lasted over 90 minutes and in which the Berlin mayor's deputy responsible for international relations at the local level, Dr Wolfgang Schmahl; and the head of the Senate Chancellory, Prof Dr Dieter Schroeder, took part, as "a first talk" and the start to pragmatic cooperation in the interest of citizens in both parts of the city.

They said that two representatives would be appointed to organize the reviews planned by both sides in individual spheres. These ideas are to be further discussed at a reciprocal visit by Erhard Krack to West Berlin, to which Walter Momper issued an invitation today.

As early as tomorrow, City Councillor for Traffic Manow and Traffic Senator Wagner will meet for talks on cooperation in their area. Other topics of future cooperation were environmental protection, urban development and city planning, tourism and recreation, and economic contacts. In the educational field, too, it was necessary on both sides to make use of experience. Walter Momper named, as an example of a concrete possibility for joint action, the search for a suitable concert hall in the GDR capital during the necessary reconstruction of the West Berlin Philharmonia. Erhard Krack for his part called for practical cooperation between the Red Cross and the [East Berlin] ambulance service.

Asked by journalists about the Brandenburg Gate, the mayor of Berlin explained the Magistrat's proposal to arrange the area around the symbolic structure in a way that it could be visited. However, a settlement which would be sensible for all was in the competence of the GDR government and the (West) Berlin Senate. On the question of holding the 2004 Olympic games in Berlin, Erhard Krack said: "The question must be considered."

Walter Momper said that this first official meeting between the Magistrat and the Senate was concerned with how one tackled conditions of an open border. The aim was the assumption of good-neighborly relations in all areas to the benefit of each part of the city. Despite differing views, questions of practical relevance concerning cooperation in local affairs were discussed. The legal positions were not impinged by this. The Quadripartite Agreement would be fully observed, he stressed.

Asked about events in the GDR, Walter Momper said he did not want unpeaceful developments there, because all would be affected by that, including West Berliners. He paid tribute to the peaceful, considered, and disciplined democracy movement in the GDR and expressed the hope that further renewal would continue peacefully.

"Naturally we discussed how, on the basis of the renewal process that has been started, we can ensure that there is a peaceful and solid development," Erhard Krack stressed. This was the basis for cooperation between the two parts of the city continuing.

Kohl's View of Confederation Criticized

AU0512134989 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Harald Schulzendorf commentary: "Wrong Path"]

[Text] FRG Chancellor Kohl expounded his ideas about how relations between the two German states should develop at the Bundestag. He sounded quite sensible on some issues. The current situation requires a closer network of agreements and treaties, primarily in the spheres of economy, transportation, science and technology, as well as in medical care and culture. These are areas in which the GDR has signaled its readiness to conclude agreements. However, the conditions that the FRG chancellor stipulated should quickly be shelved again. The citizens of this country alone will and want to decide what political and economic changes will be carried out in the GDR. They do not need the advice of the know-it-alls in Bonn.

Concerning his interpretation of the confederation concept, the chancellor has embarked upon a wrong path that is also dangerous for the stability of Europe and the world. Confederative structures with the goal of a "state order" and the ultimate reunification of the two German states will continue to belong to the realm of pan-Germanic fireside dreams.

In the view of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], confederation, a term that was introduced into the political vocabulary by the NDPD, should involve close relations between sovereign and equal states that are beneficial for all and serve peace. This is also the way that international law defines a confederation.

All this is, of course, only conceivable within a European dimension, if close cooperation and good-neighborliness prevail on the whole continent. There is no doubt that this also includes progress of the Helsinki process and a successful conclusion of the Vienna talks.

Kohl's vision of an FRG with an annexed GDR that is incorporated piece by piece, a vision of a central European power center, scares many in the East and West.

These fears are by no means unfounded in view of the bitter and bloody historic experiences with pan-Germanic Reichs.

Leipzig-Munich Flight Service Starts

AU0512181389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Interflug and Lufthansa Extend Regular Service"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [1 December] Lufthansa started a regular flight service between Munich and Leipzig. For the time being, until 15 January, flights on this route are scheduled for Fridays and Sundays. In addition, Lufthansa offers flights from Leipzig to Frankfurt (Main) on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Interflug has also started a regular service between Dresden and Hamburg (Friday and Monday) in addition to the Leipzig-Duesseldorf route.

Economic Cooperation With France Discussed

AU0512145189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 89 p 1

[ND report: "New Developments Make Possible Expansion of Relations"]

[Excerpt] Paris—Pierre Beregovoy, minister of economy, finance, and budget, and Edith Cresson, minister for European affairs, expressed France's great interest in the quick development of the economic potential of the GDR and in a stronger incorporation of the GDR economy into the world market in Paris on Thursday [30 November] in talks with GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil.

Minister Beregovoy expressed the hope that developments in the GDR may contribute to the quick expansion of economic relations with France. Both he and Mrs Cresson stressed that the French side will do everything possible to promote this process. [passage omitted]

Good Prospects Seen

AU2811175489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Claus Duemde editorial: "Impetus for the European Home"]

[Text] The report that Francois Mitterrand will pay an official visit to the GDR from 20 to 22 December surprised no one in Paris. Recently, the French president has repeatedly stated that he will take up the invitation issued in January 1988 "as soon as possible." Like most of his compatriots, he has closely observed the popular movement in the GDR and has shown respect, yes, one can even say sympathetic feelings, for the renewal that has been initiated in our republic—in telegrams to Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow as well as in public statements, most recently after the special EC summit at the weekend [18-19 November].

The fact that the visit will take place despite a very full schedule is a clear sign of the interest of both sides in an exchange of views at the highest level. One does not need to be a prophet to say something about the contents of these talks. The French president has long been interested in what Mikhail Gorbachev called the establishment of the "common European home." Last weekend Mitterrand stressed that he wants more intensive integration within the EC, as well as fruitful, mutually beneficial cooperation all over Europe. On Monday [20 November], during a debate of the French Senate, Foreign Minister Dumas stated: "Europe needs time and calm for the reforms to take place. So long as they have not been completed, so long as they have not come to an end, it would be dangerous to touch upon pacts and alliances and borders."

France wants to contribute not only politically to the stability, which is necessary for restructuring. Also on Monday, Edith Cresson, minister of European affairs, advocated speedy economic support to the process of renewal in the GDR. France's entrepreneurs—heads of big concerns, as well as of small and medium-sized enterprises—express great interest in more intensive cooperation with the GDR. In this connection, it is a good thing that next week the joint government committee of the two states for economic cooperation will hold a session in Paris. Thus, there is enough impetus for closer cooperation between France and the GDR in shaping our common European home.

Nemeth, Nyers in Moscow for Warsaw Pact Talks

Depart USSR for Home

LD0512114989 Budapest MTI in English 0933 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 5 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, left Moscow on Tuesday morning. The Hungarian leaders were seen off at Vnukovo Airport by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and secretary of the CC.

The Hungarian leaders were originally scheduled to leave Moscow on Monday evening, directly after the Warsaw Treaty summit. However, Budapest's Ferihegy Airport closed down due to fog, and the airports in the neighbouring countries also did not receive flights. Departure was first rescheduled for the late evening hours, then postponed until Tuesday morning.

Nemeth Comments on Talks

LD0512180889 Budapest MTI in English 1515 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—Just back from Moscow, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said at Budapest's Ferihegy Airport that the information he gleaned in the Soviet capital on the Soviet-American summit held out the promise that cooperation between the two great powers and dialogue on the issues which also affect Hungary would continue.

The nature and limited duration of the Moscow meeting did not make it possible to discuss the processes taking place in Hungary, the agenda was dominated by major global and regional problems.

Asked whether the two great powers were expected to change their attitude towards Hungary, Mr Nemeth pointed out that the US and Soviet presidents insisted on the principle that all nations should have a free and independent hand in choosing the right path for them.

Referring to his bilateral talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, Mr Nemeth said that, in the interest of eliminating tensions in Hungarian-Soviet trade, the sides should explore the problems and then seek a solution within the goods turnover rather than through loan agreements.

The Hungarian Government handed over a statement containing its proposed solutions, including going over to convertibility on the basis of world market prices, and the necessity of increasing company independence and reducing state obligations. These issues will be discussed in detail at the CMEA conference to be held in Sofia early next year.

The joint Yamburg investment project was also raised in talks with Mr Ryzhkov. On this score, Mr Nemeth announced that next week, the Hungarian minister of industry and the state trade secretary would be leaving for Moscow to discuss the details.

U.S. Soldier Charged With Spying for Hungary

LD0512133689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In Italy, a man has been arrested on charges of having spied for Hungary. The U.S. soldier of Italian origin was stationed in the northern part of Italy until 1985.

Pozsgay Cited on Events in CSSR

PM2811130289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26-27 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Andrea Tarquini in Budapest 24 November]

[Excerpts] Budapest—"Dubcek addressing his people in triumph, the return of the Spring... We had been hoping for this for years, but until yesterday it seemed to us an impossible dream; now we are no longer alone. Do you remember when we last talked about him, barely a month ago? I told you that the moment he was able to travel he would be welcome here in Hungary. Have we changed our minds? Definitely not: It is history in Prague that has changed. Do you hear that voice over the loudspeaker, the joyous shouts of the crowd? A statesman has regained political honor. Will he come here as president? We hope so. It is a process that will not stop. It is affecting no longer a single country but the whole of central Europe. A new European stability will be born in the days ahead." It is cold enough for snow in Budapest as the people go to the polls. In his office in parliament I listened to Imre Pozsgay reflect on the swing in Czechoslovakia and on the revolution that is driving communism out of Europe. [scene-setting passage omitted]

[Tarquini] Dr Pozsgay, the enthusiasm is proving very contagious, but in Prague, the Army is with the party. Will events not turn out as they did in Tiananmen Square?

[Pozsgay] No, I cannot imagine a Tiananmen in Europe, and I consider it impossible. I consider it inconceivable that something such as the tragedy of Tiananmen could happen in a country with an ancient European civilization, at the end of the 20th century. In any case, as recently as October they tried to use those methods in Prague against the people in the streets, and they suffered a defeat, saw that it did not work. In Europe such methods no longer work and are now useless.

[Tarquini] But will the frightened regime not be tempted to use violence?

[Pozsgay] I believe that the leaders themselves there are convinced by now that that path cannot be taken. Thank heaven, the events that we are witnessing in Czechoslovakia are not an isolated incident but part of a huge process affecting the whole of central Europe. And last

but not least, just as we had 1956, in their country there was 1968, and nobody has been able to eliminate its problems and ideas from the agenda of history. In fact that which he wanted to do, and did, in 1968 has become powerfully topical again in everyday life.

[Tarquini] The process affecting the whole of central Europe received a decisive impetus 11 September when you opened the borders, granting freedom to the young East Germans in flight. Will your adversaries not say that you have destroyed the Warsaw Pact?

[Pozsgay] No, the Warsaw Pact is part of the military balance and stability in Europe. It is a military organization, but the political system that has begun to totter, as shown by a series of events and decisions, had been fragile for years, and it was its very weakness and inadequacy that jeopardized the Warsaw Pact's effectiveness as an alliance. In recent days and months, however, a new stability has been emerging, whereby perhaps there will no longer be a need for blocs: The blocs do not have a great future.

[Tarquini] A Europe without blocs? Could a reunited Germany or a federation between the two German states help or threaten those, such as Dubcek or yourself, who want reforms here in central Europe?

[Pozsgay] I believe that new, stable relations between the two Germanies could only stabilize Europe. I do not consider German reunification possible in the near future, but I could envisage a federation soon, and I believe it would contribute to the balance and unification of Europe.

[Tarquini] The reforms in central Europe are proceeding faster than in the USSR: Will this not pose problems for Gorbachev, just a few days before his meeting with Bush?

[Pozsgay] I believe that Bush and Gorbachev will not discuss our countries, except to note and recognize our new independence.

[Tarquini] Does Ceausescu's aggressive and hostile dictatorship not threaten you and all peace in the "common European home"? Do you not believe that the Romanians should be helped to free themselves from Ceausescu, just as the Czechoslovaks are setting themselves free?

[Pozsgay] I warn everyone not to consider external assistance of a politico-military kind. But it is possible, and a duty, to provide intellectual, spiritual, and informational assistance, and consistently to condemn the suffering, distress, and tragedies that the Romanian people suffer under their dictatorship. It is possible, and a duty, to fight for their human rights, which are the same as ours. Then the Romanians in the future—like the Czechoslovaks, the Germans of the GDR, the Poles, and ourselves—will have to resolve their own problems.

[Tarquini] Do you not fear a war as a result of Romania's armament policy, its purchase of missiles with chemical—and perhaps in the future also nuclear—warheads?

[Pozsgay] They do it to give themselves courage, as a man walking alone in the dark whistles to give himself courage. [Pozsgay ends]

Pozsgay took his leave, immediately after which I met with Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar, a nonparty jurist and author of the new laws on freedom of association and speech. He is Pozsgay's rival in the coming presidential election and is standing as an alternative to him. But he does agree with him on one thing: "Urbanek is an unknown quantity; he could prove to be a temporary solution, after which a rule-of-law state will ensue in Prague." [passage omitted]

Magyars in Slovakia Demand Role in Changes

LD2711183989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Szabolcs Udvarhelyi has spent the day in Bratislava, as a special correspondent, and he has gained information about everything that was possible. He now reports on this:

[Udvarhelyi] [Passage omitted] The Bratislava Party Committee is not satisfied with a reassessment of 1968. In its view, the same must be done for the entire period since then. This statement was welcomed with thunderous applause at the now regular afternoon demonstration where, despite of the heavy snowfall, tens of thousands listened for a good 2 and ½ hours to speakers who urged genuine changes. They included a representative of the independent Magyar Initiative. He demanded full equality for the nationalities. He urged that free elections be called and that 1968 be reassessed.

Also, four newly formed Slovak Magyar democratic groupings held a coordination discussion. The Independent Magyar Initiative, the Magyar Students Association, the grouping called Forum, and MATESZ, that is the youth group of the Magyar regional theater, emphasized in their joint statement that the Magyars in Slovakia wish to be participants and founders of the current democratic popular movement, since in this regard the past 2 decades were characterized by a minority policy "about us but without us". Political dialogue was replaced by the dock, the ideological tribunal, declarations, prohibitions, or prison. For this reason a fundamental interest of the Maqyars in Czechoslovakia is that, in the struggle for a legal state and democracy, it should progress together with the Czech and Slovak democratic movements, the joint statement of the four Maqyar groupings in Slovakia emphasizes. [passage omitted]

FRG To Grant Development Aid to Hungary

LD0112173189 Budapest MTI in English 1230 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, December 1 (MTI)—At the proposal of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union and the Free Democratic Party, the Bundestag, the federal assembly of the FRG, has passed a decision to grant

development aid to Poland and Hungary, says MTI's Bonn correspondent. This is the first time that the FRG has promised aid of this kind to an East Bloc country.

Dr Christian Neuling, development budget executive of the Union Parties in the Bundestag, announced that DM 10 million would be granted for the economic and social development of the two countries in 1990. A further DM 45 million has been earmarked for the period between 1991 and 1993.

EC-Hungarian Joint Committee Holds Session

LD0112233789 Budapest MTI in English 1622 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Brussels, December 1 (MTI)—New proposals on bilateral cooperation were put forward by the Hungarian delegation to the EC-Hungarian joint committee's session concluded on Thursday night and the Community expressed its readiness to accept them.

The experts of the two sides, runs the communique issued after the session, will jointly look for further possibilities of mutual cooperation in the field of industry and agriculture, science and energy, transportation and environmental protection, financial matters and training, etc.

The meeting took place in a cordial atmosphere characterized by a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, and both sides seemed pleased with the progress achieved since their Budapest session in last December. The next joint committee session will be staged in Budapest late next year.

The list of Hungarian proposals, comprising 18 items, is attached to the communique.

It includes initiatives for further negotiations on agricultural concessions and an agreement in wine trade.

The Hungarian side proposes that negotiations should start in the first quarter of next year with the coal and Stell Community on abolishing quotas still prevalent in this field. The Hungarian sided recommends negotiations on cooperation in preparing standards, as well as tourism and deliveries.

These proposals put great emphasis on scientific cooperation, including Hungary's involvement in the various information systems of the country, and on the training of specialists in fields such as statistics, science organization, standardization and environmental protection, financial services and language instruction, and manager training. The Community is expected to pass a decision in a few weeks' time on the way these Hungarian proposals should be incorporated in their working schedule for next year.

The joint communique, however, has already indicated their acceptance.

Issues Communique

LD0412145989 Budapest MTI in English 1228 GMT 4 Dec 89

["EC-Hungary Joint Committee—weekend talks"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 4, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—At the weekend session of the EC-Hungary Joint Committee, the EC delegates responded positively to new Hungarian proposals on cooperation.

The EC outlined to the Hungarians the phare plan [as received] measures to promote the market access to the West of Hungarian products, such as the removal of quotas, customs preferences under the GSP [Generalized System of Preferences] and new EC credit facilities for Hungary.

The new Hungarian proposals, 18 in all, include talks on the extension of the customs preferences to such important Hungarian exports as beef and cheese, and agreements on the protection of the origin of wines. Talks would also start in the first quarter of next year with the Coal and Steel Community on the elimination of quotas. In addition an EC business delegation was invited to Hungary to hold talks on standards, tourism and transport.

The Hungarian proposals also stress the promotion of scientific cooperation and request that Hungary be included in the EC information network, as well as in professional training schemes covering areas such as statistics, science, standards, environment protection, financial services, languages and management.

The EC will decide in the coming weeks how to fit these Hungarian proposals into its plans for 1990.

Forint Devalued by 10 Percent Effective 5 Dec

LD0412183189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The forint has been devalued by 10 percent vis-a-vis convertible currencies. The measure becomes effective tomorow [5 December].

Deputy Trade Minister on Socialist Trade Problems

AU2811175789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Nov 89 p 8

[Report on interview with Deputy Trade Minister Piroska Apro, by Zsuzsa Gal; date and place not given: "Has Socialist Import Become Bankrupt?"]

[Text] The forced surplus in its trade with socialist countries is one of the biggest problems facing the Hungarian economy in 1989. As of November 15, the Soviet Union owed Hungary R640 million, and other countries are also lagging in payments. Additionally, rumors have it that, perhaps due to the stormy political changes, this unfavorable trend for the Hungarian economy has only deteriorated lately.

[Gal] Is it true that, as a result, even the GDR is lagging behind in its delivery?

[Apro] This is not true. If anything is working properly, it is our trade with the GDR. They are delivering very promptly and honestly.

[Gal] Then, the problems derive only from the Soviet delays?

[Apro] On 1 November, we had a surplus of R861 million in our trade with CEMA countries; out of this sum, the Soviets alone owed us R640 million. Other countries also have considerable debts to us: Poland owes us R70 million, and Bulgaria R40 million. (The latter is particularly high compared to the size of our trade.) Our partners claim a shortage of goods as the reason for the delays. Therefore, they continue to owe us considerable quantities of ethylene glycol, artificial fertilizers, soda, wood products, and cellulose. There is a considerably delay in the supply of Lada and Niva cars too.

According to Trade Ministry figures, the Hungarian surplus is not only caused by the delay in deliveries; the purchasing readiness of the Hungarian firms has also decreased, and they do not want to accept some of the goods stipulated in the agreements.

[Gal] Is a domestic lack of funds the only reason for this?

[Apro] This is definitely the reason in the case of the construction machines, mining installations, agricultural machines, and public transportation vehicles. However, the liberalization of imports accounted in convertible currency also plays a role in this. This is the reason behind the cancellations concerning socialist imports of computer technology, entertainment electronics, and electronic components. This way, the Hungarian firms receive better quality and cheaper products from the West.

[Gal] What is the solution?

[Apro] This situation can no longer be maintained. On 1 November, socialist imports lagged behind last year's figures by 8 percent, while our exports even increased a little, by 0.8 percent. The only solution is to eliminate these surpluses during the preparation of trade protocols, and we need a considerable reduction in Hungarian exports.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

AU2411191289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Nov 89 pp 1, 5

[Report by Correspondents Lenke Elek and Janos Gy. Kiss: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—The Council of Ministers Proposed To Suspend the Enlargement of the Paks Nuclear Power Station—All the Hungarian Citizens Will Be Able to Set Up Ventures—Labor Affairs Ministry To Be Set Up—Radio and Television Broadcasting Only by State-Owned Installations—Postal Law To Be Modified—News Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"—with the participation of Deputy Interior Minister Imre Verebelyi—in Budapest on 16 November]

[Excerpts] At its session on 16 November, the Council of Ministers heard a report on Premier Miklos Nemeth's talks with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales and on Miklos Nemeth's visit to Yugoslavia.

The government discussed the draft bills on individual ventures and on the public circulation of bonds and the stock exchange, and the government will submit these draft bills to the National Assembly.

The government discussed the concepts of the law on self-government and determined the further tasks.

The Council of Ministers proposed the establishment of a Labor Affairs Ministry, and a simultaneous elimination of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs and the National Labor Protection and Labor Affairs Inspectorate.

The government discussed the new order of local councils' financial regulations for 1990, and will submit it to the National Assembly for approval in the framework of the state budget.

The Council of Ministers reviewed and adopted the long-term energy policy concepts and decided to submit it to the National Assembly. The government approved the proposal to modify the law on telecommunications and postal services, and it will submit this proposal to the National Assembly.

In coordination with the abrogation of the law on the people's control, the Council of Ministers determined the schedule of eliminating this body.

The Council of Ministers approved the program of public administration deregulation and made a decision to reduce the number of regulations.

In connection with the creation of the legal institution of the president of the Republic, the Council of Ministers modified the procedural order of the government.

While the session was still going on, Zsolt Bajnok informed the journalists in detail about the government session. [passage omitted]

Television News: On its session on 16 November, did the government deal with the creation of a supervisory committee for the Hungarian radio and television?

Zsolt Bajnok: The Council of Ministers will discuss this issue at its extraordinary session on 20 November, together with other important issues, and naturally, we will inform you about this immediately.

Television News: It transpired from your briefing that there is a need for a Labor Affairs ministry. What will happen to the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs?

Zsolt Bajnok: This body will cease to exist, and the new ministry will be created mainly from this body. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: The elimination of the upper limits of tradable stocks could create a real stock market. We have been waiting for this for a very long time. Now, the people will be able to invest even their relatively small capital. However, many people think that this regulation has come too late because the people lost confidence in the measures taken by the financial administration. What capital investments can people count on?

Zsolt Bajnok: I do not know of any preliminary calculations. The precise goal is to mobilize the largest possible capital with the elimination of the upper limits. I must also admit that, in certain respects, confidence has been shaken, but we hope that the new stock corporations will contribute to strengthening this confidence. This is greatly needed in order to make the available funds a really working capital.

MTI Foreign Broadcasts: Is there a "Hungarian schedule" in the Bos-Nagymaros issue? What will be the sequence of Hungarian measures? We receive threats from the CSSR almost daily?

Zsolt Bajnok: I do not think that those threats would particularly influence the working pace of the competent Hungarian bodies. As is well known, a concrete Hungarian proposal on modifying the contract will be ready soon, and our CSSR partners will receive it in due course. [passage omitted]

Pozsgay Interviewed on Army, Radio Abuses

AU3011135889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Otto Gaal following a political forum held in Csurgo on 25 November: "I Cannot Be Judge of Any of My Colleagues—Imre Pozsgay on the Bokor-Affair and the Radio and Television Supervisory Committee"]

[Text] [Gaal] Recently, Imre Bokor's book "Petty Monarchs in Uniform" has stirred a great storm. Your former ministerial colleague made some declarations in connection with this in the "Day's End" program of Budapest Television Channel 2. Among other things, Lajos Czinege said that certain affairs were unassailable at that time, but now they can be attacked. Do you also think that one can discover such a difference?

[Pozsgay] When I was a member of the Council of Ministers for the first time, the structure of this political institution was totally different. Essentially, every issue was decided by the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and one of the main tasks of the Council of Ministers was "to translate" these decisions, and thus, this body functioned approximately like an enterprise board of directors. It always concentrated on production. Therefore, there were rather big differences between the various ministries. In addition, the Defense and Interior ministries functioned under direct party guidance and they received the directives from the party's administrative department. This also increased the separation. However, as colleagues, we naturally knew each other, and there is also much truth in the claim that everything that was allowed or legal at that time, has now become eligible for blame. However, I must add something here: There was some sort of moral stand, good taste, and decency that could regulate the attitude of people in power, though this power occasionally gave them greater possibilities. Naturally, the system itself was also responsible for this phenomenon. As a result of the party-state combination, ill-intentioned people striving for luxuries could be easily excused for their deeds. However, I cannot be the judge of any of my colleagues, but I fully agree with the decision of our current government to investigate the conclusions of this book. Things should be clarified, and people should accept the consequences of the abuses.

[Gaal] I think that a system of taboos was an accepted element of the functioning order at that time. What is your opinion about the integrity of our current public life? What can politics do for cleanliness if there are still petty monarchs—and not only petty monarchs in uniform?

[Pozsgay] The fact that there was no open public life and there was no publicity on the activities of government members and of people belonging to the power elite led to a terrible burden of suspicion, which ojected also on those who behaved honestly; all this because these various combinations were spreading and they could not be verified. As for the current public life, I think that dismantling the taboos did help: Previous abuses are revealed now and those who enjoyed unjustified privileges are called to account. Publicity has a great restrictive power! There are no taboos and safe groups. As for the general moral behavior, this has become extremely loose, and it is impossible to eliminate the consequences of this phenomenon overnight.

[Gaal] In conclusion, specifically in connection with publicity, please tell us your opinions about the creation of a radio and television supervisory committee.

[Pozsgay] We must stick to the political agreements in this area too, and, therefore, I do not consider this to be a debate between the government and the opposition. We are talking here about a polemic within the opposition. The largest opposition parties and movements admit that there is a need for such a supervisory committee. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Union of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] deny this and would like to establish a so-called independent advisory board. Generally, the fate of such independent advisory boards is similar to that of the Constitutional Court—every party wants to nominate a member. They accept the multiparty system and support it as a legislative institution, but, at the same time, they reject the activity

of a multiparty logic in the supervisory committee, while the parties could keep each other at great distance from these institutions only by supervising each other.

Premier Nemeth Interviewed on Economy

LD2611232189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] At the last session of the National Assembly, we finally began stock-taking. Pal Emod has interviewed Miklos Nemeth, who personally undertook the preparation of this balance.

[Begin recording] [Emod] Why did the government decide to disclose the financial situation of the country at this time?

[Nemeth] As I have referred to this in my speech in the National Assembly, this was not the first time when the political, or if you like the governmental, leadership confronted the question.

Unfortunately there were arguments, and I put this in quotation marks, hoping this question would be resolved over the years. We should not confess to this because this is a confidence-reducing factor; (?the arguments) have always come out on top.

It seems and it seemed, that this question cannot be resolved over the years, for the difference which has occurred since, if I am allowed to formulate like this, the trick of accounting, the government, the bank, and the budget, did not diminish.

The resolute aims of the National Bank, the Finance Ministry, and the government—since I have taken over its leadership—were that first we have to clean up the accounting; we have to try to disclose everything backdated all the way to the seventies. There is undoubtedly a risk to this, both inside and outside. It was the duty of the government and my personal duty to minimize this risk. Therefore, I had to know how the international world and the politicians will react to this. Those politicians, standing by the Hungarian reforms, now show increasing signs that they not only want to help with words but also with deeds.

[Emod] Let me add to this that the public opinion is not aware that the banks giving loans may withdraw the credit in such a case, because there are clauses for this in the contracts.

[Nemeth] Precisely. This was the other risk which had to be very carefully weighed. However, as we have considered and evaluated that the international background was created for us to make this step, thus it is not us who, let me put it this way, in a fit of sincerity, push the country into the state of insolvency, precisely due to the clause you mentioned. After all this, we have evaluated that this is the last opportunity that this government can do this; we had to do this.

This was such a burden on the members of the government, both morally and emotionally, and on me, personally, with which...

[Emod, interrupting] If I am right, incidentally, you carry this burden from the beginning of the eighties, at least.

[Nemeth] In 1981, when we entered the Monetary Fund and the World Bank, I obtained the information that there is a difference of some $1.5 billion, $1.5 to 1.6 billion between the data published for the banks—because then, the debts were not published internally—the data published for the banks outside and the data of the real debts. Or, if I think of the internal debt, there is a difference of some 300 billion forints between the published data of the budget and the unpublished ones. I have lived with this system since 1981, so in this respect I have known its history pretty well and I only had to study the seventies a bit to be able to outline this to the country, to explain how this came to pass.

[Emod] However, I imagine that perhaps the inhabitants are not even now genuinely aware of what this debt means. In your parliamentary speech, you did not mention a statistic which the deputies had received: there is a more than 110,000 forint gross debt per Hungarian citizen. It was necessary to reveal to the country's public this true situation, but is this really the final truth?

[Nemeth] In terms of magnitude, there can be no considerable divergence here. The final precise set of data will be ready when the issuing bank puts its books—as I also pointed out in my speech—on Parliament's table.

[Emod] Well now, after you have revealed to the country the true financial situation in this matter, another question may come to mind: does the government have other unpleasant surprises, under the title of revealing the truth?

[Nemeth] I do not know of anything like that. In political life, in public life, in social life, we very systematically have tried to reveal the illegalities of the fifties. This investigation is in progress. The committee the government appointed has not yet completed its work. I know this committee will do its work up to 1962. At the same time, I also know that there were show [koncepcios] trials, or trials of a show-character, after 1962. Well, in this sense there still may be a surprise, but it is in harmony with the government's intention. We are endeavoring to give a clear, truthful picture, not just regarding the economy, but regarding the system of political institutions, and social life.

[Emod] In your speech you pointed out that the government is in a rather difficult situation, because it appears that state bureaucracy might be difficult to operate, indeed, if I am right, neither did the opinion of the advisory body agree with government's opinion in very many matters. Do you not feel that government, and personally, you, have been left without a hinterland, that is, a backdrop?

[Nemeth] Well, in difficult situations such as the one in which the country finds itself—and neither can the government avoid this—it is natural that there are differences of opinion, even between a body, such as the Council of Ministers' advisory body, and the government. However, here I would like to say something. These differences of opinion by all means are good in that they make government, and personally, me, think. Thus, we do not state that we do not make mistakes. We do not state that lesser or greater inconsistencies may not slip into our resolutions, our decisions. However, I state one thing: The Government wants to accomplish the tasks awaiting it in the most honorable manner possible and with integrity; that is, to lead this country by peaceful means to the first multi-party democratic elections, in a manner so the economy functions in the meantime, so that we do not end up in an impossible situation: insolvency. Therefore, I do not want to leave bankruptcy, a situation of bankruptcy, for the government after the election.

[Emod] In your opinion, how long will this transitional government have to carry on the leadership? At what date do you imagine the elections will be held?

[Nemeth] Various dates have been voiced; an initiative was also voiced in Parliament. What my speech contained was that we should sit down with the parties, and exchange words, on this matter. I believe elections in the early spring, March-April, to be conceivable. However, it is conceivable that important arguments, worthy of consideration, speak in favor of elections at the end of March, the beginning of June. [as heard]

[Emod] Therefore, by all means in the first half of the year.

[Nemeth] Yes. In my view, it is necessary to hold elections in the first half of the year. Until then, we have to have a budget; we have to have an agreement with the international financial world; we have to have a relatively detailed action program that covers a few months. If we have all this, and if we are not past 26 November, the referendum date, then it will be necessary—while again weighing up the viewpoints—to return to this matter. I believe Parliament will also take the standpoint of going back to the proposal of Gyorgy Banffy at its December session. [Banffy proposed that parliament should dissolve itself, thereby making it possible to call elections for 11 March 1990] [end recording]

Opinion Poll on Party Organizations in Workplace

AU2011131189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 3

[Report by correspondent Marianna Szmerszki: "Survey of the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute—Should There Be Party Organizations at Workplaces?"]

[Text] The Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute carried out a survey among 1,000 people representing the adult population, between 29 September and 6 October. Some of the questions dealt with the fate of party organizations in workplaces.

Serious contradictions and great distrust characterized the debate on the fate of party organizations in workplaces, a debate carried out in the political coordination talks and later in Parliament. On this issue, not only the opinions of the opposition and of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] differed from each other, but also the opinions of the MSZMP members differed a lot, and even the public was considerably divided in this respect. We carried out this survey prior to the MSZMP congress and the National Assembly held in the middle of October, when the results of the debate were still uncertain. Since then, Parliament has already taken a stand on this issue: It banned party organizations in all workplaces and set a deadline for eliminating the basic MSZMP organizations in workplaces.

More than two-thirds of the people surveyed clearly opposed the activity of any party in the workplace. One-fifth of these people think that the opposite would be positive, and 4 percent think that it depends on the nature of the workplace in question. (Some 7 percent of the people surveyed could not answer our question.) We observed similar percentages when we listed various types of workplaces.

Do you agree or disagree with the demand to ban the activity of various parties in:

	(as a percentage)		
	agree	do not agree	cannot/do not want to answer
—the courts	78	13	9
—police	75	17	8
—schools	75	18	7
—army	74	18	8
—factories, enterprises	71	21	8
—agricultural cooperatives	71	21	8
—local councils, ministries	69	24	7

Generally speaking, a greater percentage of males, city dwellers, and people of secondary and higher education, nongraduate employees in intellectual jobs, intellectuals, and leaders are opposed to the activity of parties in workplaces; while people with a lesser education and unskilled and skilled workers are more of the opposite opinion.

The MSZMP decision to continue to have organizations at workplaces stirred up a great storm in the weeks preceding the survey. We asked the people about their opinion on the reasons for this decision. Almost three-quarters agreed that the reason behind this decision was that "in this way, the party continues to be able to influence decisions at the workplace" (74 percent of the

people surveyed) and that "otherwise, the party fears that many people would leave the party" (72 percent). The first answer was more characteristic of people with secondary and higher education, Budapest people, and males; while the second answer was given mostly by people of higher education, intellectuals, and leaders. Some 69 percent of the people surveyed accepted the explanation that the MSZMP "fears that it will lose its influence on the life of our country." In this case too, we received more frequent positive answers from people of higher qualifications and males, and 63 percent of the people agreed that the MSZMP wanted to keep its workplace organizations because "in this way it is capable of preserving its power." Fewer than the average Budapest inhabitants, people of higher education, young people, intellectuals, and leaders agreed with these two explanations. (Probably the explanation for this is that these social groups did not believe that the MSZMP could in any way have won the elections and preserved its power.)

As a compromise, the MSZMP offered the other parties the opportunity of also having organizations in workplaces. Most people fear that the presence of several parties in workplaces would lead to conflict among the workers and would hinder production. Budapest inhabitants, people with higher qualifications, and middle-aged people thought this plausible more than other groups. Barely more than one-third of the people, mostly those with a lower education, skilled and unskilled males, agreed with the assumption that the presence of party organizations in the workplaces would only benefit the MSZMP.

"Do you agree or disagree that the presence of several parties in workplaces would:

	agree	disagree	cannot/does want to answer
lead to animosity among workers	78	15	7
disturb production	77	16	7
benefit only the MSZMP	35	48	17

The Parliament has decided on one of the most controversial party issues, and it seems that the majority of the population agree with this decision. However, all of us will soon be able to express our personal opinion on this issue. The signatures collected by the Association of Free Democrats demanding a referendum made this possible. The Parliament has decided to hold a referendum on this (and other issues) on 26 November 1989.

Resolution on Subsidies for Parties Discussed

LD2411232389 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—The relevant committees discussed the amendment proposals to the tax bills during the break in the session while government was also meeting in session, therefore Parliament, departing from its earlier agenda, continued by discussing the draft resolution on the central subsidies, to be allocated to the various parties in 1939.

The document was adopted by Parliament without debate.

The resolution sets down that the financing of the central subsidies to parties can only be implemented through the cutting of this year's subsidies to social and political organisations.

Until the general elections take place the central subsidising of parties will take place according to preliminary agreement with parties and on a normative basis, considering their membership.

Control may be exercised by the committee to be appointed by the Parliament and the newly founded State Audit Office.

Should a subsidy requirement arise from new parties, it will be provided by the government according to the newly adopted resolution.

According to the list attached to the proposal by the government, normative central subsidies will be provided to the parties as follows:

Independent Smallholders' Party	15 million forints
Hungarian Democratic Forum	15 million
Hungarian Social Democratic Party	15 million
Hungarian People's Party	10 million
Association for Political Prisoners	8 million
Munnich Ferenc Society	8 million
Alliance of Free Democrats	7 million
Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	6 million
Federation of Young Democrats	4 million
Christian Democratic People's Party	4 million
Hungarian Independence Party	4 million
Hungarian Liberal Party	2 million
Green Party of Hungary	2 million

Gorbachev-Bush Malta Meeting Examined

AU0612121889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 5

[Commentary by Aleksander Perczynski, RZECZPOSPOLITA's Washington correspondent: "Contrast"]

[Text] Malta was not supposed to contain any surprises. That was the attitude presented by the White House prior to the meeting between G. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev. And yet there were surprises.

The greatest surprise, of course, was the weather. The storm in Marsaxlokk Bay was quite an unexpected reminder that even the leaders of powers like the United States and Soviet Union have to bow before the unbridled forces of nature. The event happened in the Mediterranean, off the coast of one of the smallest countries in Europe, a continent that seems to have casually given the superpowers to understand that it will not reach decisions for itself. In the opinion of American correspondents and commentators, the most fitting remark about the entire summit was made by Mikhail Gorbachev on Saturday [2 December] on the subject of the weather: "Do not blame us. It is you who are the naval power."

The weather and the changes it caused to the program it were not the only surprises (although who knows if the first joint press conference in history by the U.S. and USSR leaders would have taken place otherwise). Despite all the speculation preceding the meeting off the coast of Malta, Washington did not expect such exhaustive and far-reaching proposals from G. Bush. The President was expected to maintain his usual reserve, though lately he has been pressed against the wall from all sides in order to make him display greater support for M. Gorbachev and perestroyka.

It seems that with all his caution, Bush went much further than he was expected to (his proposals had been worked out at ministerial level and carefully hidden in case they leaked out to the press; it is said that not even officials responsible for the topics concerned knew about these proposals beforehand). According to information here, the USSR leader said during the first round of talks: "I have heard a lot about you being a supporter of perestroyka. I wanted to ask you about the details of this support. After what you have said, I do not have to ask any more."

The course of the meeting itself was in complete contrast to the weather conditions accompanying it. The main American television networks broadcast live (though not without hitches) the joint news conference of both leaders. The opinions of Bush and Gorbachev that the meeting was constructive and useful, and served to enhance acquaintanceship and encourage better personal relations are the dominant feature of preliminary assessments. However, one should bear in mind that, because of the time lag between Europe and North America, the arrangement of the television program, and the time it takes to analyze events and statements, exhaustive commentaries here will not appear until around 0400 on Monday, Warsaw time.

In the words of Bush at the end of the press conference, the summit, which is not a summit, has shown that in many issues the views of both countries are convergent or similar. The two leaders used virtually identical expressions on the subject of the German question ("this process should not be speeded up artificially"). The declarations of similar intent sometimes assumed an unprecedented form. For example, Bush said publicly that in the past the United States had failed to appreciate the USSR's constructive role in the Middle east, and that this was a mistake.

The talks did not and could not erase differences of opinion on some issues. This applies to, among other things, toregional problems in Latin America (although even here Bush categorically refuted the statement that he accuses the USSR of supplying weapons to partisans. However, confirming the fact that the United States has evidence of arms shipments to El Salvador, he indicated the uncontrolled international arms trade). Questions of maritime armaments were another subject on which no progress was achieved, said Bush.

However, these problems clearly move to the sidelines of the issues concerning which the USSR and U.S. leaders have reached a promising consensus, even if, given the formula of meetings that is currently in force, they have not yet assumed the form of official accords.

Mazowiecki: Soviet 'Blank Spots' To Clear Up

LD0512172289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in an interview for the Vilnius CZERWONY SZTANDAR, expressed the desire for good cooperation between Lithuanians and Poles. He also expressed the conviction that soon a full clarification of the blank spots in Soviet-Polish relations, including the Katyn issue, would be made.

Comments on Past With Lithuania

LD0512211489 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 5—"It is no use waging Polish-Lithuanian battles. One should cooperate in developing both cultures. One should respect each other. One should give up conflicts and prejudice. I know this is not easy, but this is what we need very much," Polish prime minister told the Polish-language Lithuanian daily CZERWONY SZTANDAR in an interview granted during his recent visit to this country.

"Our (Polish-Soviet) past is made up of difficult and painful matters. Both sides think this area should be cleared. The Katyn crime is a very painful chapter. We expect a quick clarification of this matter and this expectation of ours met with understanding on the part

of the Soviet side (...) I think this clarification will come soon," said Mazowiecki elsewhere in the interview.

Gorbachev-Pope Meeting Significance Assessed

AU0512140889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Commentary by Jacek Moskwa: "The Meeting of the Century"]

[Text] Those were the words used by Joaquin Navarro Valls, the Vatican spokesman, when he announced today's [1 December] meeting between Pope John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leader will leave Rome to proceed directly to talks with the U.S. President; talks that will take place in an atmosphere in which the Yalta system is falling apart. High level contacts between the Holy See and the Kremlin even have a tradition extending back to the first years following the October Revolution. Pope Paul VI even received Nikolay Podgornyy, who was head of the Supreme Soviet at the time and thus the head of the Soviet state. So what gives today's meeting its particular historic significance?

Two people who have each, in their own way, set in motion the mechanism of the changes that are taking place in central and Eastern Europe, will talk to each other in Russian in the Vatican library with only their translators present. These events have a clear political and economic significance, but also a philosophical one. World communism, of which Mikhail Gorbachev is today's most typical representative, arose out of the same longings that are the cornerstone of the Gospels, that is, out of the human desire for justice for the wronged and the oppressed. However, it sought to solve this problem by way of means that are fundamentally different from those of Christianity, with the aid of terror, by plowing up consciences in a way that was designed to completely eradicate religion from the life of man. This was the basic cause of conflict. Neither the Vatican's "eastern policy" nor the other side's attempt to find "progressive" elements in Christianity could obscure this.

Mikhail Gorbachev has called perestroyka the second Soviet revolution. There are grounds for believing that it has brought about a genuine abandonment of the totalitarian temptation to decide about citizens' spiritual life. Believers in the USSR are regaining their inalienable rights. The law on freedom of conscience and religion that is being prepared will provide formal confirmation of this state of affairs. A decision on the full legalization of the Uniate Church, which maintains links with Rome, is an essential step, although it is one that is very difficult for the Soviet authorities to make for internal reasons.

What can Gorbachev achieve for the policy that he is pursuing in the Vatican? The decisions that are awaited on making diocesan boundaries conform to state borders and even the prospect of a trip to the USSR by John Paul II are important elements, but not the most important ones. Stalin once asked how many divisions the pope had. The man in the Vatican will not dispatch his colorful guard to help perestroyka. However, he can be an important partner for the Soviet leader in solving the problems that have arisen as result of the present "fall of the peoples." This is because the crisis in the Yalta system, in addition to feelings of relief and joy, has given rise to serious dangers, including one of the disturbing magnitude of the German question. These dangers can be eliminated in a manner which does not give nations concerns about their security, by developing a new form of ties between the states on our continent. Mikhail Gorbachev shows that he understands this well when he advances the still rather vague idea of a "common European home." The pope, who in calling for European unity constantly reminds people that Europe does not end at the Elb, the Odra, the Bug, or even on the Berezina, is a potential ally in this quest.

The 2 hours in the Vatican library will not provide too much time for raising the affairs of our country. The Polish dimension will, however, provide the background to the meeting. The Catholic Church and John Paul II in particular have done much to give the changes that are taking place in our country a peaceful character. This has been done not only by way of teachings, but also by way of secret diplomacy. In the letter to the president and other Polish leaders published 2 days ago, the pope refers in very clear terms to his private talks with General Jaruzelski. By giving support to Poland's Catholic premier, Gorbachev has shown that he can rise above ideological divisions. May his first personal contact with John Paul II also bear important fruit in the future.

Spokesman Cites Declaration on German Relations

LD0512234889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Wlodzimierz Lozinski, the press spokesman of the president of Poland, has passed on a declaration concerning recent events in the GDR and the FRG and relations between Poland and the German states.

In the declaration, we read, among other things:

Poland is not nor can it be indifferent to the events taking place in both German states, particularly to the recently formulated intentions of unification. We have the historical, moral, and political right to express a stance on this issue of such importance for the future of Poland and all of Europe. We respect the right of nations to self-determination and to live in the conditions they see as proper for the realization of their aspirations.

Regardless of the further development of events and relations between both German states, Poland maintains the unalterable stance of defending territorial integrity and respect for equality in inter-state relations.

OPZZ Demands Government Stand on Border Issue

LD0212002389 Warsaw PAP in English
2303 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—"The declared concept of reunification of both German states evoked disquiet over a possible emergence of threats to our fundamental national interests," says a statement issued here on Friday by the executive of the All-Polish Trade Union Alliance OPZZ.

"That is why—in the name of working people of all of Poland, and especially those who rebuilt from scratch and developed over the past 45 years Polish western and northern territories and those who regard these lands as their only homeland—we call on the Polish Government to undertake effective efforts to obtain an unambiguous stand on our Western border on the part of the FRG's authorities," the statement reads.

"Fully recognizing every nation's right to self-determination we express the hope that all working people and especially trade unionists in the FRG and the GDR will do everything lest the prospect of reunification of both German states should arouse their neighbors' feeling of endangerment and fears about security of the whole European continent," the OPZZ says.

Reportage on Views on German Reunification

Jaruzelski Spokesman

LD0512192689 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The president, the government, and all responsible political and social forces in our country have frequently expressed the view that any considerations regarding the future of Germany first and foremost have to take account of security guarantees for our neighbors and the whole of Europe, says a statement by the press spokesman of the Polish People's Republic president. Similar beliefs are confirmed in numerous statements by the leaders and representatives of other countries. While declaring its like and support of new thinking, Poland at the same time is resolutely and unequivocally in favor of an honest observance of existing international treaties and agreements.

RZECZPOSPOLITA

LD3011200289 Warsaw PAP in English
1157 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—"Though there exists a problem of the unification of Germany, there also exists a problem of guarantees of the Polish borders. Therefore a firm and clear attitude of the FRG and the GDR to the Polish borders, both today and in future, will define Poland's stance on the unification of Germany," wrote RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

"The Polish public opinion was disturbed by the fact that Chancellor Kohl during his visit to Warsaw did not consent to the Polish proposal to include in the joint statement the sentence taken from the Bundestag resolution of November 8, 1989, which read as follows: The Polish nation should know that its right to live in secure borders will not be questioned by Germans by means of putting forward territorial claims either today or in future. Earlier Minister Genscher said the same to Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski during the annual session of the U.N. General Assembly," the daily went on.

"Chancellor Kohl explained his refusal with internal and political difficulties connected with next year's elections and with pressure of extremely rightist forces. Should one understand that the FRG chancellor throws his personal interests onto the scale on which future destinies of the two nations are at stake? Or should one understand this explanation in a completely different way?" asked RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Reykowski Meets Israeli Labor Party Officials

LD0512031489 Warsaw PAP in English
1934 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Tel Aviv, Dec 4—A delegation of the Polish United Worker's Party PUWP headed by Political Bureau member Janusz Reykowski, now on a visit to Israel at the invitation from the Israel Labor Party, was received by Labor Party General Secretary Michael Harisz.

The sides exchanged views on the socio-political developments in the two countries and their parties' share in the coalition system of wielding power.

The delegation also discussed possibilities to further expand cooperation. They also took part in a working meeting of the Labor Party's Political Bureau. Last Saturday, the delegation was received by Vice-President of the Israeli Parliament P. Nawwas Massalha.

The Polish visitors showed particular interest in Israel Labour Party's participation in shaping the social and economic policies.

PZPR'S Rakowski Comments on Budapest Visit

AU0512145289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 1 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[Ludwik Loos report: "Some Things To Think Over—After the Visit to Budapest"]

[Text] A delegation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee led by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, went to Budapest at the invitation of Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. The PZPR delegation held talks with the chairman of the HSP as well as with other members of its presidium.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, gave several interviews to Hungarian television and the Hungarian daily NEPSZ-ABADSAG, and met with a group of journalists who specialize in Polish affairs. He also attended a meeting at the embassy of the Polish People's Republic.

This is what he told TRYBUNA LUDU about the talks he held in Budapest: The talk with Rezso Nyers was very interesting. We were very interested in his view of the current situation of the workers' movement in Hungary, and above all, his experiences in the process of forming a new party—namely, the HSP. His conclusions are extremely interesting, and I believe that we shall have to think hard about several issues that emerged.

The first of these is: What should be understand by the unity of the party? The Hungarians have in essence accepted the principle of a federation of policy platforms and, allied to this, a federation of interest groupings. These platforms contain so-called sections. We enquired how this particular structure would enable the party to unite around several of the most important matters. The reply we received to this question was that the drive toward unity does exist, but as yet it is not fully developed.

The second issue concerns the reply that stems from the following question: How is it that the new party has only some 50,000 members, while the now formally nonexistent Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] which is currently preparing for its congress, has many more? The majority of those people who were members of the MSZMP—which had 720,000 members—have not bothered to join the ranks of the HSP, the new party.

We expected the answer that we received, but it is important to note that a large number of members, disillusioned with socialism and the party, decided against any party allegiance. Thus, the reason for the above discrepancy comes from the psychological state of the people and not the availability of some definite and clear political option.

The third issue is also very important and interesting. It was suggested to us that in many cases where people had distanced themselves from the party and had begun to articulate their new stance, this stance had a distinctly personal aspect and was limited to the individual concerned—in other words, there was a strong element of personal ambition and an attempt to avoid being labeled a Stalinist, or a conservative. Rezso Nyers told us that this personal element is playing a very large role in the fragmentation that has taken place. The Hungarians have not attempted to hide the fact that the Hungarian left is in the process of fragmentation.

We also heard a great deal about the organizational weaknesses during the period of preparation for the MSZMP-HSP Congress which once again stresses that the organizational factor is extremely important. At this point I will quickly add, so that I am not accused of manipulation, that it is indeed difficult to imagine an efficiently functioning party without the organizational factor.

We considered the problem of how the upcoming PZPR Congress in Poland, a congress that will be so historically significant, as was the case in Hungary, should be prepared? What is our best way forward? Would it be better for everyone to arrive at the congress with their own platforms which would then be debated, or would it be better to achieve some preliminary consensus and have the subsequent congress then demonstrate an affinity and the will to concentrate on a few basic aims? Personally, I believe that the second of the two alternatives is the better one, but our party's discussions on this issue are still continuing.

We were in complete agreement on the fact that the only sensible way out is to build a party based on the principles of democratic socialism. This is indisputably clear. There were no differences of opinion on this subject.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, also met with Karoly Grosz, chairman of MSZMP Congress Preparatory Commission. They discussed the situation in both parties and the preparations for the PZPR and the MSZMP congresses.

In the evening the PZPR Central Committee delegation left Budapest for Warsaw, traveling by a scheduled flight of LOT Polish Airlines.

Interviewed on New Government

LD0212212589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Interview granted by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], to correspondent Jozsef Laszlo; date and place not specified—Rakowski speaks in Polish, with superimposed Hungarian translation; recorded]

[Text] [Laszlo] Mr Secretary, the paper POLITYKA, which once was your periodical, not long ago asked the question: Who is governing in Poland? I imagine that this question is still topical.

[Rakowski] First and foremost, it is the government, which is primarily constituted of people who not long ago were in opposition. If we are talking about political orientation, we certainly cannot place this government on the left-hand side of the political arena. Using the traditional division, this is a rightwing government. The premier is Catholic, and to my knowledge most of the members of government are Catholics who are practicing believers. They are governing in the midst of a slightly confused situation, since we, too, have four ministers in government—and two of them control very important power factors, the defense and interior portfolios. At the same time, this is not a coalition, since representatives of the Democratic and Peasant parties,

as well as members of the Citizens' Club of Solidarity, constitute the coalition in parliament, and we are guests, of a type.

[Laszlo] In your view, is this classical, old division, rightwing and leftwing, still valid?

[Rakowski] Yes. I think that when evaluating the political situation of a given country, it is necessary to use these categories, which of course does not mean that if I say rightwing, this might be a kind of insult to someone. It is simply a matter of their having such views, and that is all. However, if I hear, especially from government circles, that what is at issue here is not a reform of socialism but a change of system, if I hear from a member of government that the Polish economy must unequivocally follow the model of the developed industrial countries, and in the meantime I know that it is not Algeria or India who belong to these countries, then what is at issue is clear, is that not so?

[Laszlo] Yes. But in the mentioned issue of POLITYKA I also read, I quote: The tragedy of the reformists lies precisely in the fact that so-called real socialism is falling into ruin.

I add that according to this, those who were of the view that this socialism cannot be reformed are, after all, correct.

[Rakowski] No. Where do you get this from? I am of the belief that it is necessary for us to accept a certain principle, which is somewhat philosophy of history, in character. In these times, it is very difficult to shape an evaluation which can also be taken to be a lasting principle. The current evaluations are full of emotions and subjectivism. Only history will be able to judge the extent to which this so-called actually existing socialism was necessary. I could also refer to the events of the French Revolution, is that not so? I can imagine the '20s, '30s, of the 19th century, when old Jacobins, veterans, sat in a bar in Paris, saying: "What, from the revolution, remains for us?" Then, as time passed, it emerged that the changes were unable to eliminate the ideals of the French revolution. And this year, when we celebrated the 200th anniversary, it became clear that these ideals were victorious in no small part of the world. So I am cautious when wording formulas such as socialism cannot be reformed. In my opinion it can, indeed, be reformed, and the changes taking place in our countries attest to this. The extent to which these changes [word indistinct] the path of a rightwing dictatorship—or generally, the rightwing forces—is also clear. And the question could be asked: For how long? So again: Let us be cautious with these judgments regarding what it is which cannot be reformed. The church, the Catholic Church, was also judged in this way, that it could not be reformed, and now look at the size of the changes since the second Vatican Synod.

[Laszlo] Yes, but much earlier, a separation of the State and Church was necessary for this.

[Rakowski] That is another thing. Under the eyes of one generation, the Church very successfully implemented its reforms. It rejected a great many dogmas, it proclaimed a progressive social program—I am thinking here of certain elements of John Paul II's program. And the systems reformed themselves. The question is only whether they have enough internal strength for transformation, to shed the old skin.

[Laszlo] Does this mean that you by no means view yourself as a sort of tragic hero?

[Rakowski] Why should I view myself as a tragic hero? I am one of those who have been saying for a long time that this system must be basically reformed. The dogmas of the earlier system must be rejected. I am not a tragic hero. Quite the contrary. And please do not consider this to be arrogance; I have nothing to be ashamed of.

[Laszlo] In my view, there is a paradox in your political life. You always fought against nomenclature, and in the end, you were appointed head of this nomenclature.

[Rakowski] I was not appointed. I was elected. In the Central Committee, 43 people voted against me. This has nothing to do with the nomenclature. Nota bene: This expression nomenclature is such, that it is often abused. Now, for example, what we are witnessing is how the new authority selects its own people, and how it appoints them. In that case, this, too, is nomenclature. Please, in that case, here is their nomenclature, and this is what is talked about in Poland. Every authority will always have a certain number of jobs, where it places its own, trustworthy and deserving people.

[Laszlo] How do you evaluate what is happening, and has happened in Hungary, and with the Hungarian Socialist Party?

[Rakowski] Please, this must be dealt with as part of a larger totality. Central and Eastern Europe is living through a time of revolutionary changes, and thank God these changes are taking place without bloodshed, which in itself is extremely noteworthy. But what is happening with the Hungarian, or the Polish, parties is only a very tiny part of the changes, and there is no reason to lament the past.

Rakowski Defends Past Government Before Sejm

AU2911125989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24-26 Nov 89 p 3

[Speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, at a meeting of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission for Assessing the Work of the Previous Government on 23 November in Warsaw: "I Expect an Unbiased Assessment of My Government's Activity and Conclusions Based on the Results of an Analysis"]

[Text] I did not attend the previous two meetings of the extraordinary Sejm commission which was set up to examine the work of my government. I explained my absence. At last, I am able to attend the third meeting. I

have very much wanted to speak out in public and reply to the accusations against me.

On the 18 October television news, Deputy Ryszard Bugaj, chairman of the Commission, said that the Rakowski government's blame for exceeding the budget and causing economic catastrophe is heavy and undeniable. He said that before the Commission had completed its findings and without waiting for me to speak.

At the same time, once again forestalling the Commission's findings, Deputy Bugaj said that there is no need to come to the conclusion that the members of the previous government should be held to account.

I reject these general accusations and this passing of sentence upon me, and I reject the wonderful idea of an amnesty which the chairman of the Commission has offered to me and my colleagues. I cannot accept any act of clemency. That would be an insult to the members of my government and to the hundreds of thousands of managers at various levels who are contemptuously called the nomenklatura. I expect an unbiased assessment of my government's work and conclusions based on the results of an analysis.

For many months, various television and radio programs have presented the Rakowski government's work as bad. We have been blamed for the economic collapse. Therefore, I demand that Polish television present exhaustively and without manipulation what I, as former premier, and the members of the previous government have to say.

First, a few words about the political circumstances behind the appointment of this Extraordinary Commission. It was set up at the end of July, when Czeslaw Kiszczak was still attempting to form his cabinet. This unleashed an anti-Rakowski government campaign by Sejm deputies and citizens from the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], who launched accusations against this government and bandied about the slogan of 45 wasted years. Their purpose was to pave the way to a different government than Kiszczak's, but the methods they used were dishonest. The first page of the 28 July issue of GAZETA WYBORCZA carried a long article called "The Government Before The Tribunal," suggesting that we were already facing the State Tribunal with the charges brought against us. Yet the Extraordinary Commission did not even exist then.

This piece of disinformation which forestalled the chain of events was published on the eve of the 13th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum, when it was already generally known that President Wojciech Jaruzelski was going to resign from the party leadership and that I would compete for the post of PZPR first secretary. And indeed, a few plenum participants ignorant of the political game that was being played took the rostrum and said that they would have supported Rakowski's candidature were it not for the fact that Rakowski would soon face the State Tribunal. Therefore, they doubted whether my candidature would be good for the party. These doubts were canceled out by Hieronim Kubiak, who told the plenum: Listen, by behaving like that, you are letting the opposition decide by means of its propaganda who will join the PZPR leadership. This intrigue failed, but the public still felt that the new PZPR first secretary was a criminal because he had been brought before the State Tribunal.

The former finance minister has offered explanations on the subject of budget violations in which the commission is interested. I will merely recall that between January and July there were 500 major strikes in Poland. All these strikes involved wage claims. The strikers demanded major wage increases. Neither I nor my ministers organized them. Therefore, I see no one in my government who could have done so. Today, no one is organizing strikes. The Mazowiecki government is not experiencing any daily worries caused by strikes. The industry minister has presented the economic reasons why we decided to close down the Gdansk Shipyard, in which production had been falling and tax concessions and subsidies rising. Were it not for this decision, which was advantageous for many shipyard employees from the very beginning, and has now turned out to be advantageous for the entire shipyard, no foreign millionairess would have rushed with aid for the disappearing shipyard, and no one else would have offered aid to other industrial giants on the verge of bankruptcy.

However, I, as former premier, want to reply to the general charge of "causing economic catastrophe," as Deputy Ryszard Bugaj has claimed. My government was in office from 13 October 1988 to the end of July 1989. I reckon that the government was really active only for 4 months, after which its activity was considerably slowed down so as not to forestall the "roundtable" accords. Mr Bugaj, he was still not Sejm deputy then, publicly accused us of creating faits accomplis while the "roundtable" was still in progress. Leading to an economic catastrophe during only 4 months of activity really is a Stakhanovite rate of work.

What they really wanted was to hold the Rakowski government to account for the mismanagement of the past 45 years. There is no doubt that such mismanagement occurred, and was sometimes very considerable. As a party aktivist and former Sejm marshal, deputy premier, and premier, I claim joint responsibility for all our failures of the past 45 years. I do not deny political responsibility. But please put my responsibility as premier in a separate category.

There are many reasons for the profound economic crisis, which is still with us. Many of them are rooted far back in Poland's economic history. Anyone who has studied this history will realize that. Economically and socially, prewar Poland was no further away from the developed countries of the West then today's Poland. The market economy and private ownership of resources in prewar Poland were no magic formula for removing the economic backwardness and poverty of most of the

population, nor the illiteracy and chronic unemployment. It is worth remembering this, lest one think of Poland's future in magical terms. I suggest one ought to take a look at Wladyslaw Grabski's feuilleton which describes the economic illnesses of prewar Poland. He wrote it in 1929, 60 years ago, and when one reads it one feels as if it were written yesterday. It describes the same weaknesses and same structural faults.

The idea of 45 wasted years is false, a defamation of the toil of generations of Poles. We have wasted many chances and delayed essential reforms disastrously, but we have established the foundations on which one may build the future. If today supporters of the privatization of industry fear that industry is too large to be bought up, they are unwittingly paying homage to the builders of industrial Poland, the millions of workers and wonderful engineers. When we assess the cost of modernizing our technologically backward industry as enormous, we unconsciously admit that this is a great industry that requires modernization.

To attain the kind of society which the Citizens Committee [of Solidarity] calls a civic society, the average education of young Poles had to reach a level that distinguished the nobility before the war—the school-leaving certificate [matura]. Before an electrician could leap over a shipyard wall [Walesa leapt over the fence of the Lenin Shipyard in 1980], the shipyard itself had to be built; the country electrified; and millions of people permitted to transfer from an animal-like existence in overpopulated, starving villages to cities, industry, and schools. Many of those who are now talking of 45 wasted years are insulting their own family tree.

The former opposition contains many sons of prewar landowners and sons of the old elite in general, people who have reason to claim that some of the social changes brought on by socialism were errors. Being the son of a peasant, I have encountered a lot of unconscious revenge on the party from people deprived of their former property.

However, what the Rakowski government inherited in October 1988 was not something to be envied. There were debts, a lack of progress in talks with the IMF and World Bank, meager foreign currency resources, a drop in housing construction, and a shortage of manpower in some industrial centers like Lodz. We worked without any hope of aid or new credits. In a word, we were in a situation that was worse than bad.

Our team got down to work immediately, because it was a reform-minded group of people. Anyone capable of transcending political envy should take a look at my programmatic address to the Sejm on 13 October 1988. Let him also take a look at the plan of economic consolidation, and let him compare what we said with what previous governments and individual ministries had said. He will soon see that our successors are following the same path as we did. The further they leave the euphoria behind, the more they reveal continuation trends. To be frank, there is no alternative. Just like my cabinet did, the present cabinet is also constantly repeating that it will take at least a few years to emerge from the crisis, and that a willingness to make sacrifices is needed more than anything else.

During the first few months of our activity, we concentrated mainly on preparing an entire package of economic legislation and gave a new, more radical shape to the draft economic legislation prepared by the previous government. It is my government that caused a breakthrough in the Polish economic system. We attached major importance to the law on enterprises, which abolished such "trivia" as the upper limit on the number of employees in private enterprises, and the law on joint ventures. Were it not for that, the present government would have commenced its work at a much lower stage of reform. Also worth noting is the law that abolished the Planning Commission, the main source of management directives. This was my own personal idea. By means of this law, we wanted to make it clear that we were abandoning the bureaucratic centralist method of national economic planning. Our government achieved a breakthrough in agricultural policy and banking, and went boldly in the direction of a market economy. If my government had been composed of the OKP instead of the PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Party], and SD [Democratic Party], I am sure the OKP would never have initiated this investigation. I am sure many deputies, even non-PZPR ones, now think that I was right.

As far as the methods and instruments of pro-market economic policy are concerned, the present government team is following the same path as the last one did. However, the objective is different. According to what some of today's ministers and commentators are saying, the objective is to restore capitalism. As far as I recall, the new economic order established at the "roundtable" did not foresee the return of capitalism in Poland.

Let me present one more major difference between my government and the present one. The difference concerns the speed of changes. We supported radical changes, but at the same time we decided that their speed must depend on the state of social consciousness and society's readiness for these changes. Therefore I personally was in favor of a thorough transformation of the Polish economy, but I admit that I did encourage a moderate course. The present government has announced a radical course and very painful economic decisions. I cannot say to what extent society will be able to stand the pain. In any case, I am still in favor of a moderate course.

In this context, I must say something about the pro-market orientation of the economy. That was the last decision my government took. Three days before we took it, GAZETA WYBORCZA carried out an opinion poll in 29 voivodships, in which one of the questions was: "Are you in favor of free-market prices of food in

the immediate future?" Some 54.9 percent of respondents said yes, 26.4 percent said no, and 18.7 percent had no comment.

Pressure to introduce a market economy in food came from various quarters. The ZSL was most strongly in favor of this bold move. The Central Committee Countryside and Agricultural Policy Commission spoke out on this subject. However, the Economic Commission took an opposing stance. The SD leadership, plus many economists, writers, trade organizations, and so on, were firmly in favor of this move. So was I. I considered it essential.

Today, however, I think I made a political mistake by agreeing to pro-market orientation during the last days of my government's existence. This difficult decision should have been left to the new government. Instead, we made life easier for the new government and shouldered the most difficult task ourselves.

We are accused of not having prepared the pro-market operation. Good preparation would have meant a rich supply of produce from the farmers, so that the influx of goods would have been constant and prices would not have soared excessively. It would have meant the availability of resources required by agriculture and the break-up of the monopoly that governs the food trade.

Everyone knew that it would have taken a long time to achieve such a situation in the economy. Yet we broke this vicious circle by means of a bold decision. Thanks to that, the food economy is now acquiring some sort of stability. Otherwise there would be no food.

However, a clear dividing line must be drawn between our pro-market policy and the present government's policy. My government wanted to pursue this policy in 1989 in such a way that there would be no drastic price increases. Therefore we decided to gradually abolish subsidies on basic food commodities. We did not call for free soup, nor contributions of 30 percent of one's wages for the sake of the poor.

Now let me present another difference, a political one this time. My government remained faithful to the practices initiated by the Jaruzelski government. What I mean is the system of social consultations. We consulted the relevant sectors of society on every single major legal instrument, especially acts of parliament. That does not mean we considered every single opinion and doubt communicated to us. Nevertheless, to give an example, it would have been unthinkable to do anything to cooperatives without the consent of their members.

My government was in office too briefly for society to be able to feel the results of its reforms. We did not even have time to present our program of basic changes to foreign currency regulations, the banking system, and so on. I consider it unfair to hold to account a government that did not even have time to commence its mission properly. I also consider it unethical to be judged by one's former "roundtable" partners, with whom we agreed on the principles behind the continuity of economic policy and concluded agreements which no one is going to implement any more.

I think it is politically foolish to accuse us of bringing about economic catastrophe, for such an extreme assessment also has a bearing on the Mazowiecki government.

Mazowiecki has only just announced that he will overcome inflation before anything else. Inflation is now greater than it was during the first 6 months of my government's existence. In the second half of 1989, production has begun to fall drastically, though this is still not the result of the bankruptcy of inefficient enterprises, changes to the structure of industry, and investments—in other words, economically positive changes. The budget deficit was supposed to fall, but it has risen. People who used to struggle for work-free Saturdays in mining are now begging to work on Saturdays. Social consultations have disappeared.

It is not until the last 3 months that output has clearly fallen. In September 1989, in terms of constant prices, state industrial output was 5 percent lower than in September 1988. Metal production was 21 percent lower and animal feed production 26 percent lower. Exports in terms of constant prices were 11 percent lower than in September 1988.

In October food prices went up by 65 percent in relation to September. Prices of durable goods went up by 40 percent. Dairy goods went up by 117 percent, butter by 145 percent, and sugar by 229 percent in relation to September.

The private sector is expanding at the expense of other sectors and the standard of living. As a result of the fall in coal extraction, coal reserves in power stations are 8 percent lower than last year.

Prices are now rising much faster than wages, which is economically advantageous. But that means that many people have suddenly become very poor. We are exporting goods at constantly lower prices. Despite previous announcements, subsidies for industry are still increasing. The budget deficit has increased. The gap between productivity and rising wages has also widened. In September, a Z1 rise in productivity was rewarded with a Z1.70 rise in wages. In the second half of 1989, prices and wages rose more drastically than at any other time since the Grabski reform 65 years ago. Even so, the government is failing to stabilize the market, for supply is falling and reserves are dwindling, and this is forcing sellers to push up prices. The market that takes shape at a time of such a fall in production could be uncivilized, in other words it would be balanced out not by a rich supply of goods, but by a restriction in the number of consumers to those who can afford to pay increasingly higher prices. Even producers who produce goods so expensively and so badly that they ought to go bankrupt will thrive in a free market that is based on a low level of production. Inflation creates a screen for bankrupts.

Economists reckon that, by the end of the year, 40 percent of households will see no improvement to their standard of living, and another 40 percent will actually experience a decline. Only 20 percent of households have no cause for concern.

I am not saying all this in order to put the blame on someone else. Many negative economic phenomena arose during the 6 months of my premiership. During the second 6 months, under Mazowiecki's premiership, the economic crisis has worsened. Those are undeniable facts.

I am not saying that the policies of Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz are a fiasco. Like most Poles, I hope that the faults of the present government will be corrected in future, and that its strategically correct economic activity will bring better results. Nevertheless, on the basis of the facts so far, and not on the basis of future hopes and expectations, the truth is that the economy did not collapse under the Rakowski government.

The Sejm commission wants to assess the work of my government, which really was in office only 6 months, and consider the effects of its work. If the commission were to assess 6 months of the Mazowiecki government's work in the same way, which would be justified, I wonder what its findings would be.

For this reason I say to the OKP deputies who initiated the work of this Extraordinary Commission that they might achieve nothing more than a boomerang effect. Wanting to discredit Rakowski, they are not noticing what is happening behind their own backs.

The former government of which I was leader will carefully listen to an objective assessment of our actions.

Comments on Election Defeat

LD0212001989 Warsaw PAP in English 2309 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Lodz, Dec 1—"We were over-confident, unprepared for the struggle for minds and hearts after many years of monopolist activity. Therefore, even though we initiated decisive reforms and the round table talks, it was the right thing to do to hand over power to those who won greater social support," first Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Mieczyslaw Rakowski said at a meeting of his own party organization in the "Feniks" textile factory here.

"I was elected the party's first secretary in the most difficult situation. This was not the dream of my lifetime. But there are moments in a man's life when it is hard to say no. This could have been interpreted as political desertion. The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] is split, its ranks unstable. I am doing my best for it to arrive for the congress in one piece," he said.

The factory party organization recommended Mieczyslaw Rakowski as candidate for delegate to the 11th party congress.

Jaruzelski Briefed on Constitutional Reform Plans

LD2511001989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] During an interval in the Sejm sitting a meeting of the OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group] was held. Chairman Bronislaw Geremek spoke about yesterday's meeting of the three parliamentary floor groups: OKP, ZSL [United Peasants' Party] and SD [Democratic Party] with the president. The president was informed about the intention to prepare a new Constitution and to set up an extraordinary Sejm Commission for this purpose. Two urgent Constitutional changes are necessary: Relieving the president of his powers as head of the People's Councils and handing them to parliament, as well as the acceptance of the Prosecutor's Office by the Ministry of Justice.

President Jaruzelski expressed his readiness for a loyal submission to the Sejm's decision.

Presidential Spokesman Statement

LD2611162989 Warsaw PAP in English 1548 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—The spokesman for the president declared that Wojciech Jaruzelski today received representatives of the PUWP Sejm floor group, followed by a group of deputies representing the OKP, UPP and DP caucuses.

The topic of the meetings was proposals of changes in the subordination and scope of powers of some state organs, and in particular the prosecutors offices and supervision over people's councils.

The discussion held during the meeting demonstrated that there are differing opinions on these proposals.

The president declared that he would receive with understanding any future decisions by parliament on these issues. At the same time, he deemed proper that any such decisions should be preceded by further in-depth consultations involving in particular the lawyers' community.

It is necessary to take into account various arguments, President Jaruzelski stated, and keep on searching for mature, well-designed solutions that would not make it necessary to introduce constitutional amendments too often.

The president favours the best possible decisions that would be conducive to better work of state organs. I am convinced, stated the president, that this can be achieved by making appropriate laws in the spirit of agreement, in constructive dialogue between all political forces in parliament.

The meetings were attended by ministers of state, the head of presidential chancellery, the justice minister, and the prosecutor general.

Politburo Condemns Right-Wing 'Attacks'

AU0212145589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] PAP—The Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has examined an analysis produced by experts on the subject of the sociopolitical processes in Poland. This analysis also considers the present and foreseen paths of political and propaganda attacks against the PZPR.

The Politburo stressed that these attacks are an integral part of the strategic concept of the right wing, aimed at a rapid transformation of the system in the Polish People's Republic in accordance with their wishes. This is threatening Poland with destabilization, undermining the fruits of Polish accord, and undermining solidarity in overcoming present and future difficulties.

It was decided to inform party members about political and propaganda action by right-wing forces, aimed at weakening the party prior to its 11th congress.

The Politburo acquainted itself with the views of party members and nonparty people on the subject of these phenomena in Poland, which prove that some milieus are intensifying the political struggle. Their activity is expressed in the following ways:

—A negation of the achievements of the past 45 years and an identification of this entire period with Stalinism;

—A desire to abolish the 22 July national holiday;

—The removal and destruction of monuments, burning of books, and desecration of Soviet graves.

The Politburo decided to issue a separate statement on these matters.

The Politburo also examined the state of preparations for the 11th congress, and decided to invite foreign delegations to it.

Deputies Club Statement

AU0512141289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Article entitled: "Statement by PZPR Deputies Club on Attempts to Remove Sociopolitical Organizations, Including PZPR, from Factories"]

[Text] The last few days have seen an intensification of the attempts to remove sociopolitical organizations, including the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], from factories.

These actions, inspired by some activists and groupings of "Solidarity" only antagonize the work-crews, hinder the unity of effort in economic matters, and become the sources of tension and open conflict. They are a manifestation of not respecting in practice the declarations on political democratization and pluralism, and show disregard for statements made by the representatives of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

We are against any sort of privileges for any political party, including the PZPR, in the factories.

Party members ought not to benefit from any privileges, and their normal work duties cannot be replaced by any political activity.

At the same time, we consider that the attempts to remove the PZPR from factories is illegal, and the limitation of political activity is a sign of repression that infringes civic and political rights.

Attempts at revenge against the real, or the imaginary excesses that were perpetrated in the name of our party, is in flagrant contradiction of the expressed intention of creating a democratic state that is subject to the rule of law.

No political force in Poland, neither the PZPR, or "Solidarity," is able, by itself—let alone in conflict with each other—to meet the danger and pull the country out of the economic and social chasm. The partner-like cooperation of all forces that have been freed from all their prejudices can become a qualitatively novel political fact in Polish history. An expression of such cooperation, among other things, would be the regulation—in the form of legislation on political parties—of the functioning of political parties.

We call on the activists of "Solidarity" and the PZPR; the factory councils; the managements of the factories; and the factory workforces to keep their common sense, retain a sense of proportion, and reserve.

Politburo Statement

AU0512121689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Article entitled: "Statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] strongly protests against the initiative put forward by a group of Sejm deputies proposing to abolish the observance of July 22 as a national holiday.

This is a proposal worthy of unequivocal condemnation. It offends the patriotic feelings of millions of Poles who will always remember the day of July 22, 1944 as the beginnings of the liberation from the nightmare of Nazi occupation. It offends all those for whom the July Manifesto—proclaimed on that very day by the forces of the Polish left—stood for the hope of the fulfillment of social justice, and is remembered as such by them. This is an initiative set on renewing sharp divisions in Polish society dating back to the 1940's.

Let us at this stage remind all people, especially the young, that the July Manifesto called on all Poles to unite

in the face of the joint struggle against the Germans and to rebuild an independent Polish state. It reinstated the March 1921 Constitution. It promised general, direct, and secret elections to a Legislative Sejm; the right to work and free education; land reforms; the restoration of all democratic freedoms; the equality of all citizens without regard for race, religion, and nationality; freedom of conscience; free speech; freedom of the press, and of political and professional organizations. In the matter of foreign affairs, the July Manifesto called for Polish frontiers in their present form, alliances, and a system of security that would guarantee Poland peace and the inviolability of its borders.

The ideals of the July Manifesto were not all implemented in the following years. At the height of the Stalinist period, the guarantees and promises were forgotten. This is all the more reason why today we should try to return to the democratic ideals enshrined in the July Manifesto and recall these as we celebrate the National Day of 22 July.

The Politburo states that attempts at discrediting the July 22 National Day are not an isolated case. It is linked to various activities aimed at discrediting the 45 years of People's Poland, and the deletion from history of prominent people and symbols linked to the Polish left and the revolutionary workers' movement. All this gives the well-founded fear that this is the ideological preparation of conditions for reactionary processes.

We support efforts to condemn Stalinism in Poland. We are against the cults of personality and symbols which are associated with repression and crimes which touched various circles of society and political streams, including the major part of the Polish left.

As early as 1956, the PZPR carried out a bold, public squaring of accounts with Stalinism. It condemned the terror and its ideological justification. As a result, many victims of this terror were rehabilitated. The party returned to the Polish road of socialism as expounded in the July Manifesto.

The anti-Stalinist reevaluation of 1956 initiated and approved the road—a road not devoid of bumps and slowdowns—whose most recent stages are exemplified by the agreements of August 1980; the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress and its line of socialist renewal; the 10th Central Committee plenum; and the debates and spirit of the "roundtable".

The stance of the Second National Conference of PZPR Delegates which in May 1989 debated about removing the remnants and consequences of Stalinism in Poland finally closes this settlement of accounts with Stalinism, which was begun over 33 years ago.

Identifying the whole 45-year period of People's Poland with Stalinism, the unilateral assessment of those years as wasted years, presenting those years as an unending sequence of crimes and evil, and of conflicts and distortions is a falsification of history. It is an example of an underhanded struggle aimed at removing the whole of the Polish left from the Polish stage. These slanders are aimed at paving the way for a new monopoly of power, this time of the conservative forces.

The 45-year postwar period in a devastated country—a country which previously was backward—lifted millions of people out of their poverty, illiteracy, and social humiliation. It made them educated citizens capable of enjoying culture—citizens who are critical and capable of ensuring a democratic and civilized development for Poland. We have built an industrial technology and potential which can now be rationalised and modernized. It was the left—struggling with the backward-looking right—which rebuilt the Polish state after the war, secured friendly neighbors for it, and gave it a feeling of national security that has lasted for over 40 years. It is thanks solely to the left that Poland returned to its former Piast [Poland's first royal dynasty] territories.

To call 45 years of People's Poland "wasted years," insults not only party politicians and the party, but also a whole generation of Poles. It labels the achievements of tens of millions of nonparty workers and engineers; peasants and tradesmen; doctors and teachers; scholars and artists; those who organized the work as well as those who carried it out—and thanks to whose efforts we all benefit today—as having been without any meaning and value.

The Politburo calls on the PZPR Deputies Club to adopt a firm stand and vote against the proposal to abolish the national day of Poland's rebirth. We call on all Sejm deputies who have respect for the tortuous paths of Polish history and appreciate the value of historical continuity—without which states and nations cannot exist—to oppose the draft legislation. We especially call on the deputies of the Democratic Party, the Christian groupings, and the Polish Peasants Party—"Rebirth," to vote against this legislation. The abolition of the July National Day strikes at a part of your traditions and at your achievements over those years.

Out of respect for its own history and drawing on various mainstreams of national tradition—consolidating and not dividing these mainstreams—Poland should commemorate both November 11 and July 22, as national days.

The abolition of the July 22 National Day would be a fateful repetition of the mistakes committed by the Polish left which abolished the November 11 National Day, and has recently had to rectify this mistake. The abolition of July 22 would mean the division of the Polish people and the various streams of tradition, and not the unification of all the forces of the nation to meet the challenge of the future.

The PZPR Politburo condemns with the utmost firmness the anti-Soviet provocations such as the profanation, partial demolition, and the burning of Lenin's

statue in Nowa Huta, as well as the demoralizing spectacle of intolerance and obstinacy shown by the removal of the statue of Feliks Dzierzynski. We understand the indignation of Soviet public opinion and are in solidarity with it. The barbaric smashing and destruction of monuments; the burning of books; the demonstrative rejection of school and factory names, the changing of names of streets and squares, all flash a dangerous warning signal to all democratic forces in Poland.

From the destruction of monuments it is only a short step to the persecution of views, to the destruction of people, and to totalitarianism and dictatorship. The reaction of the public to these sad facts is a measure of people's real relationship to democracy.

The PZPR Politburo strongly protests against the attacks on the symbols which testify to the participation of various streams of the Polish left in national history. We warn against intolerance, political fanaticism, and chauvinism. It is impermissible to put a new set of wrongs and actions in place of the old ones, and create new "blank spots" in place of the old ones. By using half-truths we will only succeed in creating a lame and false history of our country.

We appeal for respect for all streams of Polish tradition, the observance of historical continuity and tolerance for the different political streams. Let the different political monuments and memento's testify to our joint past.

PZPR Central Committee Politburo, Warsaw, 28 November 1989.

Miller Answers Questions at PZPR Talk

AU0412125089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 89 pp 1, 6

[Tomasz Szymanski report: "Leszek Miller Meets With Party Members in the Finance Ministry"]

[Text] The meeting started on a low note, with a description of moods among Finance Ministry employees belonging to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The defeat suffered at the June election is still creating a feeling of helplessness, and the cadres reshuffle inside central state administrative bodies is being viewed as a purge of PZPR employees, without any consideration for their professional qualities. Therefore it is not just PZPR members who are asking what the connection is between job motivation and political affiliation.

Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, suggested that this subject be approached from a philosophical angle. In every single party, some of its members think that their party is only attractive as long as it remains in power. Only then is there a likelihood of fulfilling political, social, and economic ambitions. However, an election defeat causes people who are hungry for their own personal success to turn away from the party. That ought to be understood. A new party that conforms to the need to create a democratic political order and uninhibited political competition in Poland must remember that the risk of election defeat is all part of the political game, said L. Miller.

The PZPR's entire activity under our country's new political conditions tells us that for us there is no clash between the professional loyalty of state officials and their party membership, said L. Miller. After all, we never called for resistance against those who won the election. We are not acting in a hostile manner toward them. We are showing active support for the Mazowiecki government. However, we wish to make it clear that we will judge this government's program according to its social results.

As a party, the main question we ask is whether this activity serves Poland. As long as the answer to this question is in the affirmative, we will not withdraw our support for the transformations occurring in Poland. But we will be unable to accept proposals to transfer the cost of emerging from the crisis and overcoming inflation to employees in state industry.

However, the problem of cadre assessment is a current issue. Getting rid of good employees just because they have different political convictions shows that the cadre reviewers are shortsighted, and that the question whether this serves Poland has not been considered. What will the new party of the Polish left be like? The precongress debate is slowly assuming concrete substance. One can distinguish two basic political currents—a social democratic current in the Western sense of the term, an example of which is the 8 July Movement; and a socialist current which seeks its inspiration from Marxism, but shuns Leninism as the source of Stalinist distortions. There is also a third Leninist current, a revolutionary one, represented by the Movement of the Young Left Wing in Katowice.

The basic difference between these two currents is their attitude toward ownership. The social democratic current maintains that socialism should begin with the distribution of manufactured products, not before. The socialist stream, however, says that there is no question of avoiding a democratic establishment of links between types of ownership and attitudes toward them. The public ownership of the factors of production need not imply lower productivity.

[Question] What is the party's condition?

[Miller] We still cannot shake off the post-election shock. Your own assessments confirm that. It takes time to do so. However, party members in large plants are regaining their balance more quickly. There is no widespread surrendering of party membership cards like there was in 1980 and 1981. Some 6,000 to 7,000 people are resigning their PZPR membership every month, and 100 to 110 people are applying for membership.

[Question] How big will the new party be after the congress?

[Miller] Nobody knows. However, I think that under a parliamentary democracy the question could be rephrased to read: What size electorate will the new party manage to attract?

[Question] Will we avoid the dangers that have befallen the Hungarian comrades? There, the new party is small and is clearly disintegrating into various leftwing movements.

[Miller] We are approaching the congress under various conditions. Remember that the Hungarian party was led by a four-man body, in which there were differences of opinion on how to represent the forces of the left. Fortunately, we have avoided such a disintegration. Despite everything, we are approaching the congress with less internal tension. By means of opinion polls, we have discovered the feelings of most party members, which allows us to form our election platforms calmly. The Politburo will shortly seek party members views on the subject of a new name for the party. THe point is that this topic should not dominate the congress and should not heat up emotions unnecessarily.

[Question] Does the PZPR leadership realize that the moods of party members inside central offices are not good?

[Miller] Yes, we do. We have applied to the chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers for details of the cadre reshuffle in ministries and on the direction this is taking. Fortunately, the purge of good and qualified employees has not assumed major proportions. By means of our knowledge and professional experience, we have to prove our own high caliber. We have to show that if objective qualifications are considered, we can calmly compete with the others.

[Question] How did you react to the demolition of the Dzherzhinskiy monument in Warsaw? I do not mean the fact of the demolition, but the rather enthusiastic way in which it was carried out.

[Miller] Attitudes toward history are a part of political culture. I very much like what one of our political opponents has said. He said: Leave monuments alone, for they are testimony to a certain history that cannot be erased, whatever one thinks of it.

I would also like to say something about a certain trend that has been surfacing over the past few weeks. Some people have begun to maintain that a battle for a free Poland has been fought ever since 1939. They claim that the entire postwar history of Poland is a struggle against an inefficient system imposed on us from outside, a kind of black chapter in Poland's history. I think that is the source of the latest demand to abolish the 22 July national holiday. One needs to have an exceptionally short memory to want that. One has to shut one's eyes to reality and erase Poland's entire postwar achievement. But getting back to 22 July, a date invariably close to Poles with various outlooks, it is enough to recall the words of the July Manifesto to see how patriotic it was. "Compatriots! The hour of liberation has sounded. The Polish Army, at the side of the Red Army, has crossed the Bug River. Polish soldiers are fighting on our soil. Red and white standards are once again fluttering above weary Poland." The rest of the manifesto described the character of the changes to our country, announced agricultural reform, and paved the way to democracy. If anyone today says that he is fighting against totalitarianism, he will find no trace of it in July 1944. Not until later years did the primeval idea of July 1944 become distorted. So how can one question the 22 July holiday?

[Question] Has any money been collected for the so-called PZPR intervention fund?

[Miller] Yes, about Z8 million has been collected over the past 10 days. The size of contributions ranges from Z125 to Z500,000. This money is destined for various things.

OPZZ Seeks Agreement With Government

LD2411141889 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The Executive Committee of the National Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ today rejected the Labour Ministry's proposed amendments to Chapter 5 of the Labour Act, which concerns collective disputes and the right to strike.

According to the committee, the proposal runs counter to the international labour organisation's conventions, the decisions of the round table conference, and the accords of August 1980, and it is an attempt to limit trade unions liberties, especially the right to strike. The committee for the second time discussed the draft of the OPZZ declaration. This time it adopted a new version of the document which determines the OPZZ movement's programmatic identity. The declaration reads in part:

"The activities undertaken by the authorities will be successful if accepted by the people, especially in crisis situation. Therefore, we consider it necessary to make an agreement between the government and the trade unions, on the necessary methods, dates, and social consequences of Poland's overcoming the crisis."

In connection with this, OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz announced that OPZZ, Solidarity and government will soon appoint a group to draft such an agreement, which has the prime minister's approval.

Miodowicz on Rejection of Government's Policies

LD0112024289 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30: Leader of the All-Poland alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz appeared on tv tonight after the main news bulletin.

I think, Miodowicz said, that big steps towards the improvement made by the government headed by Mr Mazowiecki are reasonable. And that is why we share many a point. But we however hold different concepts as concerns certain dramatic solutions. Among them is the system of structure of unemployment contained in Mr Balcerowicz's programme. It is unacceptable under the circumstances.

Referring to OPZZ's attitude towards Prime Minister Mozowiecki and his government, Miodowicz said that it was difficult to get bad impressions of Prime Minister Mazowiecki for he arouses friendly feelings by his attitude. This is a non-communist government and that is why it is being backed by the majority of society, he said. And it would be incomprehensible if the largest trade union did not side with this government.

But it would be suicidal for this government and for our trade union if we did it uncritically as it had been done in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s when trade unions backed all the governments.

New Chairman Elected to Lawyers Council

LD2711212489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] A lawyer, Maciej Bednarkiewicz from Warsaw, is the new chairman of the Supreme Council of Lawyers. He was elected at the Third National Congress of the Legal Profession.

Armed Forces Political Board Changes Name

LD2911235789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces will be changed into the Main Board of Education, said General Tadeusz Szacilo during a session of the Sejm National Defense Commission. In the Armed Forces there is now taking place the separation of party structures from educational structures; also full time party posts are being abolished, he added.

Ceausescu Chairs State Council Meeting 5 Dec

AU0512220989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2019 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Meeting of the State Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/12/1989—A meeting of the State Council, chaired by President Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was held on Tuesday, December 5.

Attending the proceedings as invited guests were deputy prime ministers, ministers and other executives of central institutions, chairmen of Grand National Assembly standing commissions.

The State Council discussed the draft decree concerning the rise in stipends for students and pupils and the granting of stipends to the students who are the sons of workers and cooperative farmers, irrespective of their parents' incomes.

The decree provides for an average ten-percent rise in the school and contract stipends granted to the students and pupils who attend full-time courses, as well as for the granting of stipends to all the students enrolled in full-time education whose parents are either workers or members of producer cooperative farms irrespective of their incomes, and whose marks are those stipulated by the law, as of December 1, 1989.

Owing to its provisions the decree agrees with the measures taken by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state for the provision of the best living and learning conditions to the country's youth.

The State Council adopted that decree unanimously.

During the same meeting, the State Council ratified the agreement between the Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Ghana on the promotion and mutual guarantee of investment, signed in Accra on September 14, 1989.

The State Council discussed and approved a report on conclusions contained in the analyses conducted by the standing commissions of the Grand National Assembly in connection with the way in which the law is observed in various sectors of the economy.

During the meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that further action should be taken to improve that activity. At the same time, it was recommended that the standing commissions, the ministers, and the executives of central bodies should periodically set forth reports on the activity for the observance of the norms of socialist ethics and equity and the strict application of the country's laws to the Grand National Assembly.

SCINTEIA Reports Ceausescu Speech to PEC

AU0412144589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 89 p 1

[Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in Bucharest on 1 December]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: This is the first meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] after the conclusion of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the election of the party Central Committee and the PEC. Therefore, the first point on our agenda today is linked to the necessary measures to implement the decisions of the 14th RCP Congress.

As discussed at the congress, we have to draw all necessary conclusions from the broad discussions that took place within the party, with our whole people, and at the congress regarding the unflinching implementation of the program directives on Romania's future development and building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

The congress unanimously endorsed our past activity and also unanimously adopted the program and report of the Central Committee regarding the party's activity in the next 10-year period.

The program is known. Certainly, we must work intensively to work out the best of measures to implement it.

First of all, I would like to begin with the need to perfect and improve the activity of the Central Committee, of the PEC, the Permanent Bureau, and Secretariat, of the party bodies and organizations, and the need to improve the activity of our state bodies and of all revolutionary workers democracic bodies.

As was emphasized at the congress, the activity of organizing and strengthening responsibility, order and discipline in order to unflinchingly apply our laws and the party's decisions is essential at this point. And we have to begin with the PEC! We have to draw the necessary conclusions from how the PEC carried out its activity in the past, from the problems raised both during the discussions and at the congress in order to see to it that the PEC, the Permanent Bureau, and the Secretariat will play their role under more favorable conditions.

I want to say very frankly that there were certain shortfalls in past activities—both in the way the PEC prepared and adopted certain measures and especially in the manner in which actions were taken to implement them.

I think that we have to ensure a better preparation of PEC measures and decisions on the basis of thorough knowledge of realities, so that all measures will match the situation in our country, our material potential, and the strength of our party and people. Let us make sure that the Central Committee—between plenums—and the PEC will indeed play their role of collective bodies

that discuss and adopt the decisions that will ensure the commendable implementation of our development programs. For this purpose, it is necessary to firmly apply the state's provisions on constantly consulting the Communists, the local party bodies, the entire party, and the whole nation on the most important issues that will be adopted.

We should not adopt any decision of a general nature without discussing it beforehand with all party organizations and bodies and with the entire party.

This has been and has to be one of the constant concerns of our activity as part and parcel of the party internal democracy and of democracy in our country in general! However, along with this the direct responsibility of each PEC member in commendably implementing all decisions and in applying our country's laws has to increase. One should not believe that after the collective adoption of decisions the responsibility and duties of the PEC members, of the other party bodies, including the party Central Committee, stop. The adoption of decisions is just a first step, so to speak, toward implementing them. We have to act as a collective body, but each one is also directly responsible for a given sector of activity. This certainly does not mean that the individual does not need to have a general idea about how the party and state decisions are being implemented. While being responsible for one field, each individual should not forget that he is also responsible for how decisions are being implemented on the whole!

At this point we have to say that things have not developed as they should have. This is why I dwell so much on this problem and I want to discuss—at the beginning of the activity of the PEC elected at the congress—the need to increase the responsibility of PEC members and of the other party bodies in general.

I believe that the provisions for periodically reporting to the PEC and the Central Committee on the activity carried out in a given sector have to be applied more firmly. This very important principle of the party activity and of the activity of implementing decisions, generally speaking, has not been applied properly! Therefore, I want to draw attention to the critical and especially self-critical position considering that one cannot say that criticism and self-criticism—important methods of work for constantly perfecting our activity—have been fully applied in the past.

Proceeding on this basis, it is necessary to draw appropriate conclusions on how to improve the activity of all state bodies. Our state has very clear provisions in this respect as well! The party bodies do not replace the government, the State Council, or the management in ministries. It goes without saying that the Communists who work in those bodies are responsible to the party for how they fulfill their tasks, while the government, the State Council, and the management in ministries are directly responsible for how they fulfill their duties. The provisions of the Constitution and our laws are also clearly worded in this respect! We must see to it that our state bodies, the Communists, and the party members working in the management of various areas ensure the proper progress of activities in all state bodies and firm observance of the principle of collective work in the Council of Ministers and in the managerial councils of all ministries. The observance of this principle has to be very strictly pursued! Collective work does not mean organizing all kinds of meetings with nothing positive to show, but discussing problems and adopting decisions within the government, the State Council, and the other bodies as stipulated by law. Frankly speaking, we cannot say that the government and ministries are working as they should in this respect! There are many, many problems which are not seriously discussed; no measures are established and no one makes sure that they are implemented. All sorts of pledges are loosely being made, all sorts of promises are voiced, but they are not pursued and no one makes sure that they are implemented!

It is absolutely necessary to put complete order in the working style of the government, the ministries, and all our state bodies, and, of course, accordingly, in the activity of all our revolutionary workers democracy bodies.

Proceeding on this basis, it is absolutely necessary to perfect the activity of the county, town, and communal party committees, of the people's councils, central departments, and of the working people's councils. We have a broad system of democratic bodies which ensure the broad participation of the people's masses and of all our people in adopting all decisions and in implementing them.

However, we have to implement the provisions of our laws by ensuring the proper operation of these bodies! And life has demonstrated that when these bodies work as they should then we score good and even very good results!

We have to strengthen the link and constantly consult with the people's masses, the working people, and our whole nation on all problems connected with socioeconomic development and with raising our homeland's standard in general.

In this sense, we have to bear in mind the need to enhance the responsibility of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], of the Commission of the GNA which, in conformity with our laws, plays an active role in checking on the manner in which laws are being applied by the government and by all state bodies.

I am referring to these organizational problems, to the working style and methods, and to enhancing the responsibility in all areas, because it has to be one of the main conclusions of the debates within the party, at the congress, and it must be one of the main measures aimed at perfecting and properly organizing all our activities.

We have to adopt a firmer position toward the sectors or cadres which are not fulfilling their obligations and duties appropriately. I have said this more than once and I repeated it in the congress: Criticism and self-criticism should not turn into a formal admittance of shortfalls; using them is only valid if mistakes and shortfalls are

eliminated and all activities are improved rapidly! We have to judge each person's activity according to results and work performed and not on the basis of pledges and declarations!

These are, briefly put, some general considerations on the problem of perfecting the work of central party and state bodies, beginning with the Central Committee and the PEC. As I have said, we must draw the necessary conclusions for our future activity. We must improve many, many things!

This month we will convene a Central Committee plenum to discuss general problems regarding the establishment of central committee's commissions for various issues and the establishment of necessary measures to implement decisions made by congress.

It is necessary to ensure organizational improvements regarding the growing role of the National Committee for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee, and the financial-banking apparatus in supervising and ensuring the commendable implementation of our socioeconomic development plans and programs. We have already discussed these matters, but it is necessary to adopt organizational measures to commendably achieve these goals.

We have a very broad system of control bodies. Unfortunately, they do not ensure appropriate supervision and firm measures to eliminate certain negative states of affairs. I believe that we must soon consider bringing some improvements to the operation of the entire system of control bodies, beginning with the Workers Control and the Financial Control Court, by unifying and ensuring the common coordination of all control bodies.

The current and very large number of such bodies should suffice to ensure a proper control and constant knowledge of our realities as well as efficient intervention in solving problems. In this respect, we will set up a PEC commission which should work out solutions for a better organization of all control bodies. Likewise, the same commission, together with the government, should come up with measures to increase the role of the National Council for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee, and the financial bodies in commendably fulfilling planned provisions. Regarding the control activity, I would just like to point out that we should bear in mind the provisions of our Constitution and laws concerning the role of the GNA and its standing commissions, which have very important responsibilities in all spheres!

At the same time, in view of a number of problems that have emerged in the sphere of trade and provision of quality supplies to the population, we should examine in detail the current system of checking and ensuring the proper function of our apparatus in this sector. The overall control effort should also take into account the workers control, which must be part of the overall control and of the participation of the broad masses in supervising all sectors of activity.

Various issues pertaining to our economic development plan are also on the agenda. I would like to draw attention to the need to finalize in December the programs for the organization, specialization, and modernization of production.

We deemed it necessary to seriously reconsider and supplement our program regarding production specialization, in view of the fact that certain sectors have actually renounced their initial guidelines and proceeded to break down various activities, something which has led to poorer quality and higher production costs. During my recent visit to the 23 August enterprise, I realized that one should specialize for various subassemblies, which would lead to better quality, lower costs, and higher labor productivity. I believe I do not have to emphasize here that large-scale mass production also leads to cadre specialization, better control, and outstanding production results. Therefore, our modernization and organization program should also provide for the specialization of all sectors of activity!

I believe that it is absolutely necessary to generally conclude the finalization of these programs this month, in order to ensure that 1990 becomes a decisive year for the modernization and proper organization and specialization of production.

In this respect, I would like to draw attention to the need to work out a special program for the modernization of the food industry and the better organization of the trade network, in accordance with the people's requirements. Let us revise and improve the program for the development of the overall production of consumer goods and for services. Next year we should firmly apply the measures established for these fields and implement most of them. I do not have in mind a long-term program, but rather a program which should resolve the problems of these sectors in two years at most.

We must resolutely proceed to applying the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing in all spheres, in accordance with our laws.

I believe that the basic organizations should discuss the RCP Congress decisions, directives, and resolution during their general meetings in December, in order to take steps to implement all decisions; in the second part of December, or in the first part of January at the latest, we should hold meetings with the party aktiv in all counties.

Accordingly, we have to work out the necessary measures for the political-educational activity of raising awareness and increasing revolutionary militancy in all areas.

Let us also improve the activity in the area of international relations. I want to draw special attention to relations with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, and, of course, with the developed capitalist countries in conformity with the general guidelines of our policy. I want to emphasize especially relations with the developing countries. Let us grant broader help and

let us expand cooperation with those countries, including through scholarships and education in general, and through the training of higher cadres, including in the field of political and social sciences.

In conformity with the decisions adopted by the congress, we must draft programs of measures virtually for all areas and appropriately present them to the party bodies after they have been discussed, of course, by the state bodies and by the other bodies in order to be finalized as we have discussed it and as the principles of our work and of the revolutionary workers democracy stipulate.

We must bear in mind that next spring we will elect the GNA deputies. At the same time, the National Council of Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] has already decided that in February it will hold the SDUF Congress. Therefore, this month we must draft programs of measures for all areas to ensure that all activities progress commendably. There are a great deal of problems! Our attention must focus on implementing the programs for socioeconomic development, on fulfilling this year's and next year's plan under the best of conditions, on thoroughly preparing for the new 5-year plan, and on the socioeconomic development programs for communes, towns, and counties which should also be the main subject of discussion within party organizations and in the period of preparation for the GNA elections.

Once again, I would like to repeat that I think it is necessary for the PEC members to have their say on all these problems and to discuss how to perfect our activity. We do have to work better to score better results! If each individual works as he should in his area, then we will eliminate many, many difficulties, and even a number of useless meetings, and things will progress more smoothly!

I believe that the PEC is large enough to be able to actually play the role entrusted to it by the Central Committee under favorable conditions, that it will be up to the trust bestowed on it by the party and people. Let us work in this spirit, comrades! [loud applause]

Ceausescu Receives DPRK Foreign Minister

AU0512221289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/12/1989—On 5 December, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu received Kim Yong-nam, member of the Politburo of the Korean Workers' Party, vice-premier of the Administration Council, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea now on a visit to Romania.

On the occasion President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed a message and conveyed a warm comradely salute from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Korean Workers' Party, president of the DPR of Korea, and from Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party.

Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed Kim Il-song a warm salute and the best wishes of good health and success in his activity. The RCP general secretary also conveyed a salute and the best wishes to Kim Chong-il.

During the interview reference was made to the friendly and cooperative relations established between the two parties, countries and peoples, which expand and strengthen continuously, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted at top level, to mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

During the talk, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that Socialist Romania, the Romanian people would further grant their full support to the Korean people's just fight for the peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of its country.

On behalf of the party and state leadership of the DPR of Korea, the guest warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the party, the government, the entire Romanian people for the support granted to the Korean people's fight for the attainment of its legitimate aspiration.

During the exchange of opinions on international political questions Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need for stepped-up efforts to set up an initiative committee which should work, together with revolutionary parties and forces for the organization of an international conference to discuss questions of concern to socialist countries, to the communist movement, to communist and worker parties.

The determination of the two countries and parties was emphasized to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity in the fight for the progress of socialist construction in Romania and the DPR of Korea, for the ever more powerful assertion of the principles of socialism and the firm rejection of any interference of imperialist circles in the domestic affairs of peoples, of the actions meant to destabilize the situation in socialist countries and in other parts of the world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, minister of foreign affairs.

Ceausescu Message on International Students Day

AU0212181989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Nov 89 pp 1,5

[Message from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, addressed to the participants in the manifestations devoted to the 50th Anniversary of International Students' Day held in Prague—date not given]

[Text] The 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the day of 17 November as "International Students' Day" and the manifestations organized to celebrate this event

give me the pleasant opportunity to convey—on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf—cordial greeting and best wishes to all participants in this important holiday of students throughout the world.

I believe that through the organization of this year's celebrations in Prague—sponsored by the International Union of Students—proper homage is being paid to all those who, in the difficult years of the interwar period, fought against fascism, aggression, and war. In 1939, the intensification of the resolute fight of people against the ascendance of Hitlerism in Europe was crowned with the forceful revolutionary actions of the workers class and of the advanced progressive forces. In Romania, on 1 May in the same year, a big patriotic, antifascist, antiwar demonstration was organized, during which the working people—who had many young people among their ranks—voiced the Romanian people's desire for freedom, independence, and peace.

The 50th anniversary of the students' antifascist manifestations is a good opportunity to emphasize the important contribution made by the young generation—within the context of the general struggle of the peoples—to the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II and to emphasize the determination to strengthen cooperation among young students in every country and among their organizations in the struggle to fulfill the legitimate aspirations of peoples to live in peace and freedom.

The celebration of International Students' Day is taking place at a time when the world situation continues to be particularly serious and complex. As a result of the continuation of the arms race, of actions to perfect, modernize, and even manufacture new types of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, and as a result of the maintenance of conflicts and tension in various parts of our planet and the effects of the world economic crisis, strong contradictions appear and are maintained in the world; they affect all countries and the present and the future of all peoples, and jeopardize the existence of life itself on earth.

Under these conditions, the struggle for peace and disarmament is the fundamental issue of our times and of the whole of mankind, thus of the young people as well. History and events that followed the year 1939, have proved and continue to prove that, in all wars, most casualties occurred among young people and it was mostly young people who sacrificed their lives. That is why, Romania believes that young people, including students, in all countries should rise with greater force—along with their own people—and say a decisive "no" to arming and war.

Our country believes that people should do all they can to put an end to nuclear arming and to ensure that all nuclear tests and any kind of modernization of nuclear weapons stops and that the reduction of all nuclear weapons is achieved by the year 2000. Likewise, we speak out for the elimination of chemical weapons, for the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, and of military expenditure and allocate the respective resources for the socioeconomic development of all peoples, primarily of those who are lagging behind.

Now, when we witness the recrudescence of fascist, revanchist, and chauvinist tendencies in several countries, we believe that now, more that ever, the efforts of all students and of young people in general should be united, and they should see to it that in the spirit of their wonderful tradition of struggle, along with their own people, they make an increasingly greater contribution to defending peace and completely eliminating the possibility of a new war.

We should draw all the necessary conclusions from the period of the outbreak of World War II and we should never forget the lessons of history and the fact that the policy of concessions to Nazi Germany as a matter of fact encouraged Hitlerite Germany to launch the greatest and bloodiest conflagration ever known to mankind. This makes necessary the adoption of a firm position to restrict all manifestations of revanchist and neo-Nazi forces.

Nobody can be affected more than young people—even during peacetime—by the effects of the serious situation of mankind today. During a period in which great achievements have been obtained on the path or progress and civilization, millions of young people and children still lack a shelter, are starving, suffer from disease and misery, lack the elementary right to enjoy the light of science and culture, are looking for a job in vain, and have virtually no prospects in life. In this situation we believe that young people should unite their forces and take firm action to ensure the basic rights of the young generation—the right to work, to study, to enjoy culture, health care, housing and the right to participate in a democratic way in the management of society, without any differentiation of a social, national, or racist nature and to be able to assert themselves unhampered in all fields of activity.

Now, when questions are raised everywhere with greater concern about how the 20th century will conclude and how mankind will enter the next century, I express my belief that students and their organizations will unite their forces more closely and with increasingly greater responsibility, in order to make their contribution to disarmament, to find peaceful solutions to all conflicts, to eliminate underdevelopment, and to solve all those serious and complex problems that confront mankind today.

In the current international situation, disregarding realities, imperialist and neocolonialist circles promote more vehemently a policy of interference in domestic affairs and a policy of destabilizing the situation in certain countries, and they are intensify their actions against the independence and free development of nations. It is, therefore, more necessary than ever to unite the efforts of the young generation and to take firm action in order to enhance a new way of approaching the issues of international life. Now, more than ever, young

people should show their capability for action and their ability to influence positively the process of ensuring the establishment of new relations in international life, relations of complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage, so that people can choose their own future according to their own wishes and so that a policy of peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world is more forcefully promoted.

Young people are called upon to give—through their struggle—a positive, truly optimistic response, one which shows complete confidence in the future, to the aspirations of the whole of mankind to build a better and more just world, a world of peace and cooperation!

I would like to stress that, benefiting from the care and concern of Romanian society for the development and the assertion of the young generation, the young people in Socialist Romania are participating actively and enthusiastically, with self-denial and patriotic elan, along with our whole people, to the implementation of the programs for the socioeconomic development of our country. At the same time, they make an important contribution to the implementation of our state's foreign policy of peace and cooperation with all people's of the world.

Expressing my belief that the Prague manifestations occasioned by the celebration of the 50th anniversary of International Students' Day will be a new and important contribution to the development of friendship and cooperation among students, young people, and their organizations, I call on the International Union of Students, the other student organizations, and all the progressive forces of young people and students to work in complete unity in order to build a bright future and to ensure the triumph of the noble ideals of the whole of mankind, namely freedom, progress, prosperity, and peace for all nations!

President Drnovsek To Pay Working Visit to FRG

Drnovsek on German Reunification

AU0212131989 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Dec 89 p 14

[Carl E. Buchalla report: "The German People Should Decide Themselves"]

[Text] Belgrade, 30 November—On the eve of his official working visit to Bonn next Monday [4 December], Yugoslavia's State President Janez Drnovsek stressed in an interview with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that a unification of the two German states as a result of the developments in the GDR is "in the end a matter of the self-determination of the German people." However, another question is the establishment of international conditions under which this unification would be "natural and possible."

Today it is a fact that between the political-economic system of the FRG and of other West European countries "there is a greater proximity and similarity" than between the FRG and the GDR. Therefore, a "unification of Germany" seems "realistic" only within the framework of a unified Europe—in particular "in a context, which is different from today's or the context immediately after the end of World War II." In a "different Europe which, as we hope, is on the point of developing, the unification of Germany would be conceivable for us; it would constitute a normal process."

If, as a result of the new and broader integration processes, these conditions are created, which would at the same time be a sign of the fact that the division into blocs has been overcome on the European continent and all over the world, Drnovsek said. "Yugoslavia has always advocated overcoming the division into power blocs."

Dynamism in the GDR

His country observes with great attention the changes in the East European countries and in this connection "the dynamic events in the GDR." The large-scale reforms and the even more radical demands for democratization of society in the GDR were caused "by the all too long stagnation of the model of social and economic order," which "obviously no longer corresponded to the time and the needs of the people." Now it is the business of the GDR people "to find solutions in their specific situation." In the GDR, too, profound democratic processes are necessary, the expression of which is the people's natural desire to have a more varied, richer, and freer life. Drnovsek said that he recognizes the "strong humane and emotional dimension of this event for the German people."

The great and spectacular development processes in the East European countries have deviated the world's interest from Yugoslavia. "However, in our country, too, profound reform processes are under way in the political and economic field, which, of course, do not meet with such a response in the media, because at the moment other countries are fashionable." Yugoslavia started the reform process a long time ago; the impression that this process has bogged down is wrong: "In addition to economic decentralization, we have also carried out decentralization in the political field and in practice we already know various forms of political pluralism. We have already consistently separated the party from the state, so that the state organs can work completely independently. Our activities focus on working on the constitutional state and on the protection of human rights. In the economy we are implementing great changes in the system by introducing pluralism of ownership: private, state, cooperative, and mixed ownership. We are introducing the capital market, the labor market, and we are developing the goods market. We are carrying out a reform of the tax system. With all these changes we are opening up toward the world; we are ready to face the competition on the market and are open for complete mobility of people, goods, and capital."

With these reforms, Drnovsek stressed, Yugoslavia is establishing the preconditions for its "institutional and functional inclusion in European integration—in the Council of Europe, the European Free Trade Association, the EC, and the OECD."

Crisis in the Multinational State

The Yugoslav state president did not hide the fact that the current nationality conflicts in the multinational state are the biggest problem at present, which endangers the reforms and the development. These conflicts are the result of the political and economic crisis, which is deepened by the debt crisis and is accompanied by great social tensions. An improvement in the economic situation would reduce the social tensions and cool down the national emotions. "This would establish conditions for a calmer and more tolerant discussion of the political changes."

The nationality conflicts, Drnovsek said, are sometimes overestimated. In Yugoslavia many—and even peripheral—questions are discussed with much passion and temperament, which gives rise to the impression of great differences and contradictions between the republics and nationalities. Differing views are becoming visible, in particular in discussing the upcoming constitutional reform. "However, in this respect, too, there is a basic agreement on the fact that the federation is to become more efficient and modern, and that the state must be freed of its superfluous functions."

With regard to his visit to Bonn, Drnovsek stressed the good relations between the FRG and Yugoslavia, "which are dynamically developing further year by year." With a trade volume of about $4 billion, the FRG is the SFRY's most important trading partner among the OECD countries, as well as number one with regard to the total value and the number of cooperation projects. In the FRG, 600,000 Yugoslav guest workers are employed; with 2.8 million tourists, the majority of our foreign tourists

come from the FRG. The German visitors bring about 40 percent of the foreign currency revenues in Yugoslav tourism. "So far, the FRG," Drnovsek said, "has granted important political and material support in implementing the program of economic reform; I expect it to continue to actively support our current reform process." How? "Through further capital investments in joint ventures, in projects for infrastructure and tourism." Above all, Belgrade expects "strong support from the FRG Government for Yugoslavia's efforts to be included into the processes of economic integration in Europe."

FRG's Weizsaecker on Ties

LD0312222289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—The intensification of Bonn's exchanges and contacts with Hungary and Poland, and especially the German Democratic Republic, will not be to the detriment of its relations with Yugoslavia, West German President Richard von Weizsaecker said this evening in an interview to Zagreb Television ahead of the visit to Bonn by Yugoslav Presidency President Jamez Drnovsek.

Weizsaecker said that the reason for Drnovsek's visit was to prevent a possible impression in Yugoslavia that Bonn will neglect its relations with Belgrade because of the developments in Eastern Europe.

Noting that nobody from outside could wish to influence the internal processes in Yugoslavia, Weizsaecker said that exchanges between countries are directly proportional to the motivation of their peoples.

Less tension and oppression, more autonomy and freedom of self- determination, greater respect for human rights and better security of the state through the legal security of its citizens produce better material results and better relations with other countries, Wiezsacker said.

Asked whether the present-day world should fear the Germans, in view of increasingly frequent proposals for the reunification of the two German states, he said he was convinced that there has never been reason to fear the Germans who live in freedom and democracy.

I think that everything the Germans had gone through and the self-determination they have won by their own courage in the German Democratic Republic are the best blocks to the (?renewal) of such fears, said Weizsaecker.

The West German president also praised the events which have created the possibilities for a rapprochement between the two German states. He underscored the responsibilities arising from such events both in intra-german relations and in the relations the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have with their Eastern and Western neighbours.

Drnovsek Arrives on 3-Day Visit

LD0412185789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Bonn this evening aboard the Yugoslav Government's special plane for a 3-day visit to the FRG at the invitation of the head of the West German state, Richard von Weizsaecker.

At Bonn Airport the Yugoslav president, who is accompanied by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, was met by the head of the West German state protocol office. An official welcoming ceremony is planned for tomorrow morning outside the residence of the FRG president.

Immediately upon its arrival the Yugoslav delegation set off for the government offices in Bonn for the first meeting of the visit with Bundestag President Prof Rita Suessmuth. One more meeting has been planned for this evening. On that occasion President Drnovsek will meet with Wolfgang Mischnik, head of the liberal group of deputies in the Bundestag.

Talks With Bundestag's Suessmuth

LD0512094589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2109 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Changes in countries of East and southeast Europe, as well as the situation in Yugoslavia, were the focus of talks this evening in Bonn between Rita Seussmuth, president of the FRG Bundestag, and Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

Drnovsek, as cited by West German sources, stressed Yugoslavia's interest for inclusion in European integration trends and for advancing bilateral economic cooperation with West Germany. He added that trends toward more pluralism in society and economic openness have for a long time been underway in Yugoslavia.

Rita Suessmuth, stressed that "the European community" must not become "a fortress," and that events in East Europe in the past few weeks confirmed a necessity for European integration to be open.

Members of the Yugoslav delegation say that the Bundestag president expressed interest in the latest events in Yugoslavia, especially in Slovenia. She stated that in principle democratic changes cannot be implemented without economic recovery.

Drnovsek, according to the same collocutors, pointed out that for a long time Yugoslavia has been facing economic problems which have been causing exacerbation of interethnic relations. The aim of Yugoslav policies is, according to him, to stimulate economic growth in order to reduce national tensions, and to gain time for political changes.

Economic reforms should bring about a greater degree of market economic activity, and political reforms—above all, constitutional changes—and the resolution of problems within the federation stimulate political pluralism and safeguard human rights and legality in a law-governed state, he said.

Positively assesing the present changes in East European countries, Drnovsek recalled that we in Yugoslavia embarked some time ago on processes which these countries are yet to face. He specified this by saying that he has in mind particularly the economic opening-up and setting-up of market mechanisms.

Weizsaecker, Drnovsek Talk

LD0512173689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, December 5 (TANJUG)—The changes in Europe, inter-German relations, the situation in Yugoslavia and the activities of the movement of non-aligned countries were in the focus of the talks held between Federal Republic of Germany President Richard von Weizsaecker and visiting Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek here today.

The hour-long talks at the West German president's residence Hammerschmit were held in an "extremely friendly and open atmosphere," according to West German sources.

The same sources especially point out that Drnovsek expressed Yugoslavia's interest in becoming a full member of the Council of Europe, joining the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and becoming an associated member of the European community.

Weizsaecker, as set out, acquainted his guest with the West German assessments of the changes within the Warsaw Treaty and, especially, in the German Democratic Republic.

Yugoslav delegation sources say that in talks Weizsaecker recalled Yugoslavia's important and unique role in preventing confrontations in the entire post-war period. He said that he hoped that Yugoslavia will surmount its current difficulties and emerge as a prosperous community in its present form in order to be able to continue an independent and constructive policy.

It is added that Drnovsek stressed that Yugoslavia is entering a period of deepest political and economic reforms, in an effort to surmount the economic crisis and lessen inter-nationality tension.

Drnovsek stressed that parallelly with joining European integration processes, Yugoslavia does not wish to neglect the question of the renewal of development in the world, in order to avoid a confrontation between the north and the south. In this Yugoslavia is engaged in seeking a dialogue on cooperation between the movement of non-alignment and the developed states.

According to Yugoslav delegation sources Drnovsek stressed the importance of the initiative launched by Italy, Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia towards establishing regional cooperation which surpasses bloc divisions and encompasses states with different social-economic systems.

Drnovsek Talks With Kohl

LD0512204389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The FRG will continue to support Yugoslavia and its inclusion in European integration trends, and it is ready to advance further mutual economic and other cooperation.

This follows, as claimed by the Yugoslav delegation, from today's 1-hour talks between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and SFRY President Janez Drnovsek.

According to information from the mentioned circles, Kohl expressed readiness to make even personal efforts regarding concrete forms of support; for example, the Hermes state credit guarantees for financing trade exchange.

The West German side cautioned that occasionally a "dramatic picture" about events in Yugoslavia is emerging abroad and that worries are surfacing that "irrational emotion" will prevail, all of which causes concern for stability in the region.

Led by its own interest in preventing destabilization in the region and Europe, the FRG, as the chancellor stated, has decided to invest in helping, according to its abilities, all countries that have embarked on the road of reform, including Yugoslavia.

Chancellor Kohl, according to the Yugoslav delegation, explained in detail his initiative consisting of 10 points for setting-up confederal structures, which will lead to the creation of a German federation.

According to President Drnovsek, the unification of Germany is a natural process within the framework of the overall international trends on the continent from which Germany cannot be excluded. In a united Europe, the unification of Germany is inevitable.

Drnovsek pointed out, with its economic and political reforms, Yugoslavia is creating prerequisites for its entry into European integrational currents. In this context it is striving toward membership in the European Council, the European Free Trade Association, and toward association with the European Community.

The support that Yugoslavia expects from the European Community and other international organizations should be seen as an integral part of normal economic and other cooperation, Drnovsek said, stressing that in this context Yugoslavia is hoping for increased capital

investment from abroad and, in particular, from West Germany as one of its most significant foreign trade partners.

Within the framework of talks about bilateral issues it was agreed that the problem of the large number of Yugoslav citizens, who for economic reasons have tried to obtain political asylum, should be examined by experts and that no hasty moves should be made beforehand.

Chancellor Kohl indicated that he is interested in paying a visit to Yugoslavia as early as the 1st quarter of next year. The visit has been agreed upon in principle.

Statement on Drnovsek-Kohl Talks

LD0612022589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Government Press Statement on Drnovsek-Kohl talks"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Bonn, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The West German Government supports Yugoslavia's wish for closer involvment in the European integration processes, it was officially announced here on Tuesday evening.

In a statement to the press on talks between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek, also underscore is that "The German Federal Republic is strong interested in a stable Yugoslavia, as a precondition for stability in the region and the entire Europe."

Kohl underscored the importance of "stable surroundings" for development in central, Eastern and southeast europe. He said this implies both "the respect of the right to self-determination and other principles stated in the final Helsinki document", and the West's readiness to efficaciously support the countries in the region which opted for reforms."

The statement said that the chancellor presented his ten-point program for creating a German Federation, stressing that "the solution to the German issue is possible only under the European roof."

Drnovsek is cited as expressing hope that "within the framework of the favourable development of the European integration process.

He underscored that Yugoslavia's participation in the European processes includes membership in the European Council and its conventions and the search for closer forms of cooperation with the European community.

Drnovsek Meets Vogel, Brandt

LD0612030589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, December 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek held separate meetings here today with Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) President Hans Jochen Vogel and SPD Honorary President for Life and President of the Socialist International Willy Brandt.

The SPD leaders expressed their wish that Yugoslavia again become stable in order to continue, as they assessed, to be an irreplaceable factor in the balance of Europe and the world.

In a statement for the press, Vogel indicated that it is necessary to provide concrete help to Yugoslavia and that the Federal Republic of Germany must give its share. The statement also said that Drnovsek expressed hope that Yugoslavia would not be left out of European integration processes.

Commenting the events in Yugoslavia, Brandt was quoted by his collaborators as saying that it would be a tragedy for Europe and the country itself if Yugoslavia were destabalized.

Pointing out that it was important for Europe to preserve the Yugoslav federation in its current form, Brandt was quoted by his collaborators as saying that it would be good if Yugoslavia could use the current dynamics of changes in Europe in order to change itself.

Informing the Yugoslav president about the activities of the Socialist International, Brandt was said to have mentioned attempts by a small group from Slovenia to join this international organization of social democratic and socialist parties. The Socialist International, Brandt was reported as saying, will not do anything which might have a destabilizing effect on Yugoslavia.

Reportage on Drnovsek's FRG Visit

For West German reportage on the visit by President Janez Drnovsek to the Federal Republic of Germany, including reports on his meetings with Chancellor Kohl, President Weizsaecker, and others, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 5 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Trade With USSR Expected To Rise in 1990

AU0412204789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 89 p 8

[Dj. Bilbija report: "Trade Increasing"]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 20 Nov—The value of trade between Yugoslavia and the USSR will reach $6.242 billion in 1990, and will be approximately 10 percent greater than this year's. Today a trade protocol was signed here by Franc Horvat, federal secretary for foreign economic relations, and his Soviet colleague, Konstantin Katushev.

The most important item among the imports from the USSR will be oil. As envisioned, the USSR will export to Yugoslavia 7 million tonnes of oil, which is about 1.5 million tonnes more than was exported in 1989. The

bulk of Yugoslavia's exports will consist of equipment, machines, ships, and consumer goods. [passage omitted]

Trade Protocol for 1990 Signed With CSSR

LD2811234289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, November 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav-Czechoslovak trade protocol for 1990, signed here today, envisages the value of trade both ways to stand at 1.3 billion dollars, or at the same level as this year.

A steady drop in the Yugoslav-Czechoslovak trade was checked this year.

Drnovsek Sends Greetings to Albania's Alia

LD2911231789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the national holiday of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent greetings to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the Albanian People's Assemby.

Reportage on Serbian Assembly Meeting

Elects Chamber Presidents

LD0512185789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly today constituted all three chambers of the Assembly in its new composition consisting of 341 new delegates.

In separate sessions the delegates elected in a secret ballot the presidents of the assembly chambers. Dr Milos Laban was elected as president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, Dr Dobrosav Cvetkovic as president of the Socio-Political Chamber and Dr Milorad Babovic as president of the Chamber of Municipalities.

The delegates also elected a joint commission of all three chambers (?of the assembly) [words indistinct] commission for each chamber separately.

Elects Assembly President

AU0512135389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In a secret ballot, the delegates of the Assembly of Serbia have elected Zoran Sokolovic president of the republic's assembly. Zoran Sokolovic obtained 245 votes, Radivoj Marinkovic obtained 63 votes, and one ballot was invalid.

Expressing his thanks for the confidence, Zoran Sokolovic said, among other things, that the assembly will always be open to the citizens of the republic. Now that human rights are being violated in Slovenia, Serbia cherishes its freedom and the freedom of others, and will offer its hand in support to all the people in Yugoslavia, but it will not suffer any humiliation, Zoran Sokolovic said in his speech to the delegates of the Assembly of Serbia.

Milosevic Reelected

LD0512185289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—In a secret ballot today, delegates of all three assembly chambers of the Socialist Republic of Serbia reelected Slobodan Milosevic as president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia's Presidency. Milosevic received 293 votes, and his opponent Mihalj Kertes 10 votes.

Milosevic Address

AU0512162889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, at the joint session of the Serbian Assembly Chambers in Belgrade on 5 December—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, thank you for electing me and for the trust expressed by the citizens of Serbia and the delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. I am convinced that in the next 4 years we will jointly succeed in eliminating at least some of the major problems in our republic. This conviction is founded on the experience of the last 2 years during which we, the citizens and the leadership of Serbia, succeeded in carrying out changes which enabled Serbia to establish its territorial, political, and spiritual integrity, as well as the equal status with other republics in Yugoslavia.

These changes represent the basis for the further development of Serbia and a condition without which it could not survive as a whole, and especially the condition without which it could not successfully and comprehensively develop. Our future development is contained in the reform program, above all, in those parts which concern the economic reform and the reform of the political system. The guidelines contained in these two reform documents have already been known to the public for some time, not only in Serbia, but also in Yugoslavia, and outside it.

Many of these guidelines are now being acted on. Some key moves on unifying the disunited economy have already been made. The loan for the economic reconstruction of Serbia represents the material basis for the new investment cycle which should start the period of economic expansion. The Executive Council, which will be elected today, should efficiently implement our program of reforms.

The constant fall in personal and social standards is moving with a speed which makes economic issues the most important political question. If we have accepted

the job of putting things right, it is then logical and just, considering the actual facts, that we should put economic issues first after a long period during which only ideological questions unjustifiably occupied the prime position.

The poverty in which a significant section of citizens of this country has found itself has aroused justified indignation because of political and ideological maneuvering whose protagonists want to turn Yugoslavia into a big, unsuccessful, and inhumane roundtable. A great number of our citizens, and especially those who live in hardship, do not want to understand and are not interested in all these ideological and political discussions which are allegedly conducted on their behalf.

What the citizens are most concerned about is that their standard of living is threatened and that their country is unstable. What they are primarily interested in refers to the changes which will enable them to live better materially and culturally, to live in a stable country which will provide them with peace and freedom and in national and personal dignity which is today threatened. They are particularly interested in the changes and people who will stop quarrels between the republican leaderships, hatred that has been sown among the Yugoslav peoples, and the propaganda war which rages in Yugoslavia.

We in Serbia have the moral right to demand that this war be finally stopped, because for a long time Serbia has unjustifiably been a subject of all possible attacks which most often represented an expression of the lack of readiness of anti-Serbian and anti- Yugoslav forces to reconcile themselves with the fact that Serbia has become equal and unified, and that nobody will be able any longer to settle their accounts at the expense of the interests of Serbia and the Serbian people.

In the years ahead, our orientation will primarily be the orientation toward economic strengthening of the republic and a better material position of the individual, as well as enabling all citizens to equally participate in the republic's social and political life in the interest of its material, democratic, and cultural prosperity.

In many past years the majority of the public, citizens, workers, veterans, intellectuals, and youth were excluded from the political life of their society. The political life was taking place in the bureaucratic circles of the state and the League of Communists. This halted the development of society and caused the justifiable dissatisfaction of citizens.

The bulk of changes concerning debureaucratization were started by the citizens themselves when they voiced their views in the public, institutions, organizations, press, and meetings. The meetings were a form of the political reaction by the widest public to the lack of functioning of society, but also to that functioning with which they were not satisfied. In Serbia, the meetings facilitated the functioning of the institutions which were previously blocked, but also expressed views which today constitute the basis of our social reform. This is why we are now obliged to make the system to function and to make these views to be completely realized.

The mood of the broadest public in Serbia was directed toward the progressive social demands and this made it easier for the republican leadership to come up with a program of economic and political reforms in accordance with the people's wishes, on the one hand, and with the development of a modern technological revolution and democratic achievements of our age on the other.

It seems superfluous, but I must nevertheless stress that speaking about Serbia's prosperity in the economic, political, and cultural respect, I have in mind the prosperity of all its citizens who are absolutely equal regardless of their national religious, professional, or any other belonging and persuasion.

Over 1.5 Albanians, a large number of Hungarians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and so forth live in Serbia. The number of mixed marriages is growing, and the children born in these families justifiably consider themselves Yugoslavs. Serbia does not conceal that it cares for Yugoslavia as a common motherland of all our peoples, and it does not consider this to be unitarianism but a sensible and honest support for a state that is in the interest of all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. Even if there was nothing else in Serbia, Vojvodina alone and its Yugoslav national structure would mark Serbia as a pro-Yugoslav community.

In its deciding for the reform and for Yugoslavia, Serbia has clashed with the forces that are against the reform and against Yugoslavia, particularly outside Serbia. This conflict has been most drastically manifested against the Slovene leadership. This leadership is a protector of conservativism in Yugoslavia, and one of the last protectors of conservativism in the socialist countries in general.

Conservativism in Slovenia, in conflict with the forces of progress in Yugoslavia, and especially with the progressive economic and political changes in Serbia, has reacted aggressively and cruelly. Such aggressiveness and cruelty as a rule distinguish all conservativism. In this way, conservativism resists progress and the changes brought by progress. But we could not look tolerantly at the aggressiveness and roughness that bureaucracy uses to extend its life, regardless of the fact that we know that we have to deal with conservative forces. The fact that these forces are outdated in the historical sense does not mean that they are socially harmless. On the contrary: Their aggressiveness, as we have just seen, may hurt the dignity of other people and it may also jeopardize the interests of other people.

The present policy of the leadership of Slovenia not only insults the dignity of people but also jeopardizes the most elementary human rights of the Yugoslav citizens in the Slovene part of the Yugoslav state. In a bureaucratically arrogant and aggressive way, the Slovene authorities have by force broken off the ties with the

people of Serbia, and we have taken this break seriously. We will maintain this serious reaction until the forces of conservativism, aggression, and violence give way to a democratic, peaceful, and fraternal attitude in Slovene politics.

As regards Serbia, occupying itself in the coming years primarily with economic development, it will at the same time develop socialist democratic relations in the political system and will endeavor to provide the material and all other conditions for a free creative development of science and arts. This decision rests on progressive achievements of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and it meets the progressive ideas of our epoch.

In this name I greet all those present in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and I express my thanks again to the delegates of the assembly for the election and to the citizens of Serbia for their trust. [applause]

Consent on Currency Law Withdrawn

LD2511225589 Belrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—The Serbian Socialist Republic Assembly today withdrew its consent to the draft law on foreign currency, and it sent this decision to the president of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. This fact raises some crucial and legal questions as to the fate of the new law on foreign currency. However, further information on this issue will be known tomorrow.

This chambers' committee in charge of economic relations with foreign countries today decided to postpone the debate on the newly arisen situation until tomorrow.

In a brief statement for TANJUG, Tomica Raicevic, Serbia's delegate to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, explained this by saying that the Federal Executive Council deviated—as he put it—from the original concept of this law as it assessed that the high foreign currency reserves and the existing law on foreign currency did not constitute a need for passing a new law and that now the most urgent task is to pass a comprehensive anti-inflationary program.

Further Report on Proceedings

LD0612062989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The new delegate assembly of Serbia was today constituted in the presence of representatives of top organs and organizations of both the federation and the Serbian Socialist Republic [SR]. The new convocation comprises 340 delegates from all the regions of the republic. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Janjic (candidate from the territory of Serbia proper), Vukasin Jokanovic (candidate from Kosovo) and Djordje Scepanovic (candidate from Vojvodina) were elected vice presidents of Serbian Assembly. Milos Laban was elected president of the Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor; Dobrosav Cvetkovic of the Socio Political Chamber; and Milorad Babovi of the Chamber of Municipalities. [passage omitted]

In the continuation of today's session, which lasted for several hours, the delegates of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly elected members of the Serbian Presidency. Out of eight candidates, six were elected. They are the following: Jurij Bajec, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Slobodan Vucetic, Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, Dr Skender Karahoda, and Mihalj Kertes. Although their names were on election lists, Dragan Nikolic and Dr Zoran Pjanic were not elected due to a small number of votes they received.

Out of 16 proposed candidates, 12 were elected members of the Serbian delegation in the Yugoslav Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces. They are: Dr Milos Aleksic, Slobodan Aleksic, Dr Tomislav Bandin, Predrag Galovic, Miroslav Zdravkovic, Budimir Kosutic, Ratko Licina, Tefik Lugici, Todor Popovic, Dr Slobodan Unkovic, Branislav Crncevic, and Dragoslav Pavlovic.

Delegates elected by public vote include Dr Stanko Radmilovic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, new president of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council. Miroslav Miskovic, former director of the Zupa [wine producer] of Krusevac; Filip Grujic, who has held this post so far [as received]; Dr Zivadin Stefanovic, rector and professor of the University of Kragujevac; and Dusan Mihajlovic, former president of the Valjevo Municipal Assembly, were elected to the post of the vice president of the Council. Budimir Jovkovic was elected the secretary of the Council, and Dragomir Petkovic, its member. [passage omitted]

Opening opportunities for and stimulating development of a mixed, joint and privately owned economy, against which there should be no prejudices and discriminations, is important for Serbia. There are funds to be invested particularly in small, labor-intensive programs, funds coming either from the loan for the recovery of Serbia or from other sources. Also, we should resolutely enter major investments, for example roads and energy production, which would ensure greater employment. More intensive, economically justified integration within the whole Serbia is necessary, as well as recruitment of capable people in developing management, market and marketing.

The Executive Council will advocate a single monetary, foreign currency and, in particular, fiscal policy, and a more adequate social policy; it will be against confederalization of agricultural policy and measures that would further worsen the already unbearable agriculture situation. Regarding energy production, Radmilovic stressed that the time is gone forever when, at the expense of

adequate re-evaluation of resources in Serbia, one could buy social peace in Yugoslavia.

Stressing that Kosovo continues to be the most serious political, economic, and moral problem of our republic and the whole Yugoslavia, Radmilovic said that activities in the province will be based not only on specific measures within social and economic reform, but on breaking down economic, cultural, and educational isolation in Kosovo. This will be a major and extremely difficult task, but the time has come when we should and must tackle the essential causes of the Kosovo crisis, and Yugoslavia should be engaged, Dr Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Republican Executive Council, said.

For Republican secretaries, who are ex officio members of the Republican government, the following were appointed: Radmilo Bogdanovic for Republican secretary for internal affairs; Miodrag Jokic for Republican secretary for national defense; Aleksandar Prlja for relations with foreign countries; Jovan Zebic for finances; Nikola Sainovic for industry, energy and construction; Petrasin Petrasinovic for trade, tourism, and catering; Sreten Vladisavljevic for judiciary and administration; Veljko Simin for agriculture, forestry, and water industry; and Kostadin Bozic for transportation and communications. Stojka Djordjevic was appointed Republican secretary for labor and social policy; Bosko Markovic for urbanism and accomodation and communal activities; and Damilo Markovic for education, science, and physical culture. Dr Vladimir Petronic is new Republican secretary for health, social and children's protection; Dr Pavle Todorovic for protection and improvement of environment; Andrija Nerenik for veterans and disabled people's affairs; and Dr Milan Rankovic for culture.

At today's Serbian Assembly session, delegates endorsed a proposal by a group of them to express full support for the stands from the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference Presidium proclamation in connection with the events in Ljubljana.

Delegates demand that the Serbian Assembly should ask the SFRY Presidency, Yugoslav Assembly, and the Federal Executive Council as the highest-ranking organ in the country to establish responsibility for violating the SFRY Constitution and basic human rights and freedoms of Yugoslav citizens in Slovenia, as well as that within their authorities they prevent further incitement of disturbances and terrorism in Kosovo coming from the Slovene Socialist Republic.

Upholds Break With Slovenia

LD0512231389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2032 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Serbia, one of Yugoslavia's six constituent republics, upheld on Tuesday the initiative of the Serbian Socialist Alliance Presidency to break off cooperation with Slovenia, another Yugoslav republic. The initiative followed upon the banning of a rally in Ljubljana, at which Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, one of the two autonomous provinces, were to present their problems.

The initiative has met with full support from the businessmen in Serbia, so that, since the beginning of December, nearly all commercial centres in the republic have announced their decisions to break off cooperation with Slovenia.

The assembly of Serbia will call on the Presidency of Yugoslavia, the federal parliament and the federal government as the highest organs of authority in the country, to establish responsibility for the violation of the Yugoslav Constitution and infringement upon the basic human rights and freedoms of Yugoslav citizens in Slovenia. The Assembly of Serbia further demands that the highest organs in the country, within their powers, prevent any further unrests and terrorism in Kosovo from Slovenia.

The Serbian Executive Council (republican government) has launched an initiative to form a 10-member coordinating body to examine all aspects of Serbia's economic ties with Slovenia following the banning of the rally in Ljubljana and the proclamation of the Serbian Socialist Alliance Presidency. One-half of the membership of this body should be economists.

Slovenia Criticized

LD0512151289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—In his first speech before the new delegate assembly, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, stressed that Serbia has become independent and that no one will again be allowed to use it and the interests of the Serbian people to settle accounts.

Referring to tension in relations between Serbia and Slovenia, Slobodan Milosevic said that the Slovene authorities have, in a bureaucratically arrogant and aggressive way and by force, severed links with the people of Serbia and that Serbia has taken the severance seriously. We shall continue to react seriously until the forces of conservatism, aggression, and tyranny have withdrawn from the Slovene political scene, thus making way for a democratic, peaceful, and fraternal Slovene policy.

Further Reportage on Serbia, Slovenia Break

Bucin Comments

AU0512141989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Dec 89 p 11

[TANJUG report: "We Cannot Play Winners and Losers Now"]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec—If the practice of breaking inter-republican relations spreads through Yugoslavia,

as was suggested in the appeal issued by the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, and if economic and all other ties in the country start breaking, I even fear any thoughts about all the possible and real consequences all this may have, SFRY Presidency Member Nenad Bucin pointed out in a program carried on the Third Channel of the Belgrade Television this evening, speaking on the occasion of the situation in the wake of the ban on the "meeting of truth" in Ljubljana.

The Game Goes On

It is obvious from the way this appeal by the Serbian political leadership is reacted to in Slovenia, Bucin pointed out, that this game is going on and, in fact, that these rules of the game are accepted and the game readily continued. In my opinion, Nenad Bucin said, one should resolutely say no to all these extremes. Otherwise, we will have consequences that are very clear, almost visible and tangible. Bucin then recalled that the SFRY Presidency has the next move, but it seems it is the only one to have the next move.

Nenad Bucin then said that he personally was one of those people who was of the opinion that the Ljubljana meeting should be held undisturbed. It is not, he said, because I believe that any meeting can do what all institutions of the system fail to, but simply because I recognize—and I think that other people have forgotten or crudely ignored it—the constitutional right of every SFRY citizen to rally together with other people and freely express his opinion. This time, this was thwarted by a one-sided decision of the Slovene leadership. This was a wrong move which—and that is in our conditions only natural and almost inevitable—must be followed by mistakes made by others.

Nenad Bucin, member of the SFRY Presidency, is of the opinion that the proclamation issued by the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia can be acceptable, and even comprehensible and understandable to people in many of its points and assumptions. However, that part in which it calls on breaking ties is "neither understandable nor acceptable to me personally. Was really sufficient thought given to where such moves may lead us?" Bucin asked.

Calming Down Passions

What has happened will now, unfortunately, have somewhat more lasting consequences than anybody here would like, Bucin said. However, one must calm down passions and break all illusions that one can get out of this situation victoriously or honorably. It has to be clear to us, Nenad Bucin said, that we cannot play winners and losers now. We cannot afford it now.

Asked by Third Channel journalists what the SFRY Presidency will do about all this, Nenad Bucin said that he cannot say or predict anything at this moment, but I feel the need to act more quickly, he pointed out.

Nenad Bucin also spoke about the dilemmas of whether 1 December, the Unification Day, should be treated as a holiday. Recalling that he was one of those people who advocated most that that day be proclaimed a holiday, Bucin said that the state presidency will most probably not deal with that issue. He also recalled that this was the day on which our joint life began in a country in which there were many things that satisfied nobody. However, he added, a crude mistake is made there, because no people exploited some other people during that period.

To reduce prewar Yugoslavia only to what some gained and others lost in it, and at the same time neglect what everybody gained, that is, the possibility of a joint life, is unacceptable for me, Bucin said. As the marking of 1 December is met with so much opposition in the entire country, Bucin is of the opinion that it would not be good to aggravate the matter further. I nevertheless think that this day will be marked, Nenad Bucin, member of the SFRY Presidency, said at the end in a program carried on the Belgrade Television's Third Channel.

DELO Commentary

AU0512181989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Tit Dobrsek "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Masks Taken Off"]

[Text] The march on Ljubljana that had been escalated from day to day and that was supposed, under the cover of a meeting of truth, to bring discipline to the different Slovene political scene, has failed, and now we are witnessing the second act in the Yugoslav drama. The total blockade of Slovenia that has been proclaimed in Serbia and that has been pulled out from the darkest bottom of the rubbish heap of history is only a fresh attempt to bring Slovenia forcefully to its knees.

Now the masks have been definitely taken off. If until yesterday somebody believed that the whole thing was an adventure by gullible people that are driven to a crusade by the hopelessness of their own situation, the announcement of the blockade has made it clear that the whole thing is a part of the plan for a violent rearrangement of the Yugoslav federation of equal and sovereign peoples so as to suit one republic, one people, and one leader. For the benefit of a policy that is writhing in the agony of its unsolved problems—in Kosovo, in the economy, and in politics—Slovenia must fall as the most prominent and dangerous challenge in searching for different ways.

In essence, the proclamation of the blockade means a classic declaration of war, for which somebody will have to answer to history. Although one should not underestimate the consequences—on both sides, to be sure—the response by Slovenia can be only the following: to reply to the enforced isolation with an even greater opening to the world, and to reply to political pressure with increased democratization, widening of the public dialogue, even greater freedom of public media, and with free elections. To balkanization, one should reply with

europeanization, and to the undermining of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, by strengthening it.

One should not delude oneself that the present second act will end the Yugoslav drama. More acts will follow. But now we know that it is serious.

Slovene Assembly Condemns Break

LD0512102689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Federal Assembly demands that the chamber discuss as soon as possible problems created after the call of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference Presidium for severance of all political and economic relations with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The demand, sent to the chairman of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, stresses that the proclamation of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference is "a serious attack on a united activity of the Yugoslav market, single technical and technological systems, functioning of and ensuring defence capability of the country, which directly contravenes Articles 251 and 252 of the SFRY Constitution." The decision of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference was judged as "a one-sided suspension of already adopted agreements and an impediment to new agreements regarding investments, and as a one-sided suspension of cooperation, other agreements, and future business relations." [passage omitted]

Slovene Groups Seek More Media Use

AU0112123389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 89 p 6

[D. Draskovic report: "Alternative Movements Hindered by the Media"]

[Text] Judging from recent surveys, the Slovene alternative movement is faced with a struggle for the media. It will not only collide with official policy in its path, but has its fears and doubts about the editors of newspapers, the radio, and television, who can quickly exert influence to ensure that not everybody will obtain anything like the same share of the media cake before the first direct and free elections. An identical treatment of all political contenders, the alternative movements consider, would testify to true pluralism, and give them a chance to learn how to govern, and for official democracy to show itself in practice.

Identical Shares of the Cake

Many of the present alternative groups will not enter the elections as parties, but will quickly lend their support to the parties to which they belong or which are connected to their programs, in order to succeed better in the elections. "Club 89" will not remain merely a club, but will attempt to help the present Youth Federation in reaching power. Darko Strajn, a member of this club, has said that they must surprise the public. Rastko Mocnik from the Alliance for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative observes that the most important thing is to show a democratic breakthrough in the elections, and that the Alliance for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative will do everything to contribute to a victory for citizens in the free elections.

Igor Bavcar and Rudi Seligo, representatives of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and the Slovene Writers Association, declare that their organizations will not enter the elections as parties. Bavcar mentions that the committee will hold by its own program and the principles for which it was founded. Seligo observes that they need to help to make a political struggle possible, because a struggle of this kind expands political elbow- room. However, when that struggle begins, the Writers Association can be considered to have accomplished its task. Then more will need to be said, Seligo said, for the association will then leave the round table, the alternative movement coordination group, and the Socialist Alliance.

Following the disagreement over policy among the members of the Executive Committee in the Slovene Christian movement, a current predominated that led to the formation of an alliance, and later a party. Lojze Peterle mentioned that the "Christians" expect a great deal from the media, because there is still prejudice concerning what believers can seek on the political stage. Peterle expects of the media that voters will be honestly informed about the programs of all political organizations, and that their programs and candidates will be presented. It would be fair and right, Peterle says, if the program of our party could be presented with the same care as was recently devoted to the program of the League of Communists.

Andrej Zorz from the Social Democratic Youth and Marjan Podobnik from the Slovene Peasant Youth observe that they could do a lot toward spreading and promoting their own programs. The young Social Democrats also count on establishing "Rose" clubs, to be founded in every town, and the young peasants wish to impress among farmers the fact that political organization can influence changes that are important to them. Zorz observes that they are handicapped from the very start as regards the media, and Podobnik thinks that the Peasant Youth program will be launched alongside that of the Slovene Peasant Alliance.

It Must Also Be Paid For

Representatives of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance have far more precise ideas about their presentation in the media. Joze Pucnik said that the Social Democrats expect that everybody should have continual and equal access to the media. Radio stations should be expected to

provide daily information about the conclusions, performance, and activity of the party, interviews with party representatives, and occasional round tables. They also envision paying for party commercials. All this relates to television. Pucnik observed that round tables should be organized from time to time, at which representatives of the parties or electoral blocs would be able to appear. Newspapers would be obliged to give identical treatment to official and alternative representatives.

Hubert Pozarnik from the Slovene Democratic Alliance mentioned that the most important thing is for the party to be able to properly present its program and activity. The "Democrats" also expect some minutes on television, once or twice weekly, for their own statements. However, they are not modest where the commentary of daily events is concerned. They wish to comment on them every day, and to do so in magazines as well. They also wish to publish the same commentaries in newspapers and reviews, but this does not imply such sections as those of readers' letters.

The Slovene Peasant Alliance will go before voters with an already clearly outlined program, and this program will be promoted on the radio, television, in newspapers, and through leaflets, Ivan Oman said. Matjaz Anzur, representative of the Yugoslav Alliance, said more specifically, "We expect 1 hour of television and one page of DELO every week. Besides this, we must have income from the alliance's marketing promotions," Anzur said.

In some senses, there are at present more unknown factors in the case of the "Greens," for it is alleged that some of their groups are inclined toward Kucan, while others have come out with an openly anti-communist program. Peter Jamnikar, representative of the Slovene "Greens," observes that everybody should be equal in the media and that the same rules of the game should hold good for all. In contrast to him, Marek Lenardic from the Citizens' Green Alliance said that he did not trust the media in the electoral campaign, and that he was entering like a sacrificial lamb. Lenardic stated that, besides putting forward his own program, he would expose the program of the League of Communists.

Attacks on Drnovsek Condemned

LD0512095289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia increasingly condemns the more and more vehement attacks on the SFRY presidency, especially on its president, Dr Janez Drnovsek, says a statement for the public issued today by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The presidency also condemns attempts to discredit Dr Janez Drnovsek, which have been voiced in last few days.

In the present serious situation and disturbed relations between units of the Yugoslav federation, the statement stresses, it is of the utmost importance to ensure constituality and legality. At the same time, the role of the SFRY Presidency at the federal level is irreplaceable. Thus, it is necessary to safeguard political authority of the federal presidency, its president, and members.

Crude and insulting attacks on President Dr Janez Drnovsek also discredit Yugoslavia in the eyes of the international public, the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia holds, and adds that this objectively weakens our position in the world.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia stresses that under the constitution, the SFRY Presidency is responsible solely to the SFRY Assembly, and its members to republican and provincial assemblies which elected them. The SFRY Presidency adopts its decisions and stands collectively, but its president and members have the right to publicly present their views and opinions about issues which the presidency has previously discussed. This is a civilizational human right and the right of each politician in every democratic society, the statement for the public by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia concludes.

Kucan Discusses Current Tensions

AU0512184389 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 89 pp 16-19

[Interview with Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, by Jelena Lovric; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] No special occasion is needed for an interview with Milan Kucan, head of the Slovenia's Party organization. This man of respectable energy and persistence, who often defies everything, the resistance of his own community and lack of understanding at the Yugoslav level, but does not desist from a democratic option and constantly makes new initiatives in this direction, is by himself of sufficient interest to the media. The Communists of Slovenia have recently promoted a new program with that they will go to elections soon, being the first in Yugoslavia to run the risk of losing them and, as somebody has said, for this very reason being the only ones who deserve actually to win them. [passage omitted]

DANAS: You have probably thought about what will happen if the League of Communists loses the elections?

Kucan: Before we think about the League of Communists losing the elections, one should clear up whether it goes to elections seeking power for itself or seeking verification for what we call the socialist front of political forces in Slovenia. I think that at least from the last congress onward, we have not entertained an ambition to seek power for ourselves, for Communists as a separate political force, but we have always thought that it is our task and our political goal to preserve and reaffirm the idea of socialism that will be up to the level of modern European socialist thought. The main thing for me is that at the coming elections, the socialist option of

the development of Slovene and Yugoslav society should be confronted with those possible options that see prospects for Slovenia outside socialism and outside Yugoslavia. We are conducting a specific discussion about this, and it is perhaps most directly formulated in the two political charters; the May Declaration in many postulates resembles our socialist Basic Charter, but does not count upon the three essential elements: socialism, self-management—not as an ideological but a civilizational value—and Yugoslavia. In this conflict, our option has a much greater chance, but not by itself and not if it remains a dead letter.

DANAS: Perhaps the relationship of forces is still in your favor. But what are the trends?

Kucan: I think that the situation will not essentially improve before the elections. The danger exists that these elections may not yet be the proper ones, and that only the following elections will be so. Explaining why we do not change the name of the party, Lev Kreft picturesquely said that at the elections people should not be deprived of the pleasure of crossing out the League of Communists. Without any such picturesque embellishment, I believe that the real danger exists that voters will cast their votes against the League of Communists rather than vote for anybody else. This is happening in Hungary now. It is easy to be an alternative group criticizing a party that for 40 years has personified everything—both good and everything less good, and increasingly more evil—but it is difficult to be a proper alternative, which apart from criticism also offers a positive program. From the ideological plenum onward, our chief stand has been that we do not search for those against whom we are but that we first formulate what we are in favor of, and on this basis search for allies. I think that our program, when it is launched in public, will present a proper basis for taking sides.

DANAS: Has there been any resistance yet in the Slovene Party ranks to this new program? How do you interpret it? With the generation gap?

Kucan: I would rather call it fear of a possible step into the void. What has been happening in the Slovene League of Communists in the past few years—and our response to the challenges of the crisis—is like walking along unmade roads, full of uncertainty, on which it is easy to err, and so there exists fear, uncertainty, but also nostalgia. Many people have tied all their lives, and their social and political promotion, to this party, and so it is humanly quite understandable that it is difficult for them when it changes. However, it is our position that the League of Communists belongs to its members. Of course there are some who now cannot identify with it, because it appears insufficiently radical to them, carrying too much ideological and political ballast that it unnecessarily drags along, but there are also some for whom all this has occurred too rapidly and who interpret it as abandoning socialism. [passage omitted]

DANAS: There is a considerable lack of understanding in Yugoslavia, too. One can often hear remarks even by those who are benevolently inclined toward Slovenia that the way in which you launch your initiatives unnecessarily excites and irritates Yugoslavia. The latest example is the yellow star as a graphic sign of the Slovene Party Congress.

Kucan: This change of color has also caused some controversy in Slovenia, perhaps because human mind finds its much easier to quarrel about the color of the star than the contents of the program. A Slovene mathematician has said that an idea that cannot be presented graphically is not a proper idea. The design presentation of the forthcoming congress was worked out on the basis of the draft of the program, and we were also somewhat astonished when we were told that this graphic design logically follows from it. They told us: What you are seeking in your program is Europe, and Europe is now symbolized by a blue flag with yellow stars; if you want to be a part of Europe, you are one of these yellow stars. We could not wiggle out; we were thus caught in the act. But I think that our program has remained within a communist projection of democratic socialism, provided people believe that this program is a reply to the specific challenges of the times, and that they believe that it is not a substitute for a theoretical elaboration and analysis of society as we see it the long run. This is a much more difficult part of the work that is ahead of us.

Otherwise, I would agree that the way in which individual ideas from Slovenia enter the Yugoslav sphere—and this is not restricted to party ideas—does not sufficiently take into account the tolerance threshold in that sphere, or rather does not take into account the way of thinking in other parts of the country. Of course we, too, should take these differences into consideration, but I do not think that this should go so far as to drop our ideas and suggestions, which we are sometimes directly asked to do. We have never run away from criticism, if, of course, criticism is accompanied by a readiness for discussion and does not appear as a final judgment and disqualification. [passage omitted]

DANAS: You have mentioned your readiness for discussion. In this connection you made some suggestions in the past few months, but they were not always favorably interpreted.

Kucan: I think that the lack of democratic dialogue is the key problem of the Yugoslav political scene. However, we cannot live together unless we open up. Therefore, we made the suggestion at the beginning of the year that talks be held with all the republican and provincial party leaderships. This was met with some mistrust, as if Slovenia wanted to bypass the federal organs, and it was interpreted as our striving for a confederation. But precisely seeing the impotence of the federal institutions, we wanted to create through mutual talks the scope and the conditions for quicker agreements and decisions in the federal bodies. We have succeeded in having talks

with comrades from Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and they were useful to us. It is very unfortunate, however, that dialogue between us and the comrades from Serbia has been discontinued. This, of course, is a great burden for Yugoslavia, not because I would think that everything in Yugoslavia depends on the Ljubljana-Belgrade relations, but because one cannot ignore the fact that these are two important factors in the federation. One cannot get out of this situation except through direct talks. [passage omitted]

Of course we cannot have differences on matters concerning the very essence of our life together; if this essence is questioned, then there is no reason for the existence of the community, whether it concerns a unified League of Communists organization or the country as a whole.

DANAS: You speak about a unified League of Communists. How is this possible when Slovenia advocates its modernization, and the other side of the country regards the party organization rather conservatively?

Kucan: The League of Communists no longer is unified in the way this used to be interpreted; in fact, it is more pluralist within itself than the politial scene in Yugoslavia otherwise is pluralist. Questions of its unity have been broached now in connection with the statute. Leaving aside the questions about how modern this statute is and to what extent it is set so that it enables the party to carry out reforms, I think that the statute should prevent the Leagues of Communists of the republics being outvoted in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee on a program that, theoretically worked out and founded, should be the basic cohesive and integrating tissue, and on those questions that are set aside in the SFRY Assembly for consensus decision-making. [passage omitted]

DANAS: Speaking about a unified League of Communists of Yugoslavia, one hears that after the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee session that discussed the Slovene constitutional amendments, individuals and even entire organizations asked to leave the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Kucan: Yes, there have even been cases of entire communal organizations wanting to leave the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but to remain members of the League of Communists of Slovenia. After talks with them, we came to the conclusion that people in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in Yugoslavia demand a minimum civilizational standard and do not wish to be in an organization that is not prepared or capable to deal with the violations of this standard. In this connection, the essence of the positions taken on our amendments was not as important as was the fact that the League of Communists and the Central Committee acted in opposition to their declared role, because at the last moment, immediately before the assembly session, when the assembly was the only legitimate organ called upon to decide the fate of the amendments, people who had no more to say on the subject interfered in the procedure. This was seen as endangering the civilizational standard.

DANAS: You said on some occasion that recently Yugoslavia has changed quietly. What have you actually had in mind?

Kucan: I think that the relations in Yugoslavia, the relations between the republics and provinces, have actually changed in the direction of an undemocratic federation. Seeing such tendencies, we fixed and strengthened with our amendments—and I think that the changes in the socioeconomic and political parts of the Constitution have been, quite unjustly, completely ignored—the positions of Slovenia, and thus of every other republic within Yugoslavia—which means not outside Yugoslavia—and within the existing SFRY Constitution, which means within the existing valid concept of the Yugoslav federation. I have often been asked whether the amendments have been adopted precisely because of this realization, or it was even said because of fears. I think that we would have adopted them even without it, because they have a significance in principle. [passage omitted]

DANAS: National disputes in Yugoslavia are today often reduced to the clash between Slovenia and Serbia. Is this a matter of a national clash, a clash of concepts and ideas, or perhaps only a clash of leaderships?

Kucan: I think that it is a national clash least of all. When 3 and ½ years ago misunderstandings began to smolder among the writers, we warned them in good time that it is not right that the matters should escalate in public to such an extent. When political concepts, each arising from its own situation that was not identical to all, began to be formulated as the crisis intensified, their differences again were aired publicly, so that suddenly one began to speak about two different concepts, an eastern and a western one, or a Serbian and a Slovene one. But if one looks at what has been written down about the economic reform, both variations (with the exception of what Stanko Radmilovic said) have much in common, and they also have much in common with Ante Markovic's platform. Of course, the devil takes pleasure in specific matters, not the general ones, and it is a pity that we have no opportunity in direct communications to discuss the application of these principles. There are more differences about the political system than about the economic part, but I think that even these differences are not unsurmountable and that we even have some points in common. At the latest session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, for instance, nobody but the comrades from the Army explicitly opposed the possibility of a multiparty system. It is difficult to say whether everybody thinks the same, but I see that one could discuss things. Something similar applies to the human rights and freedoms, which are contained in both concepts. Just how convincing this is is another question, but I think that it would be pure political speculation to say that they should first look at

their own situation and that it then becomes clear what they want. When concepts are discussed, one should have arguments presented. If one starts with disparagements at once, we could get it paid back in the same coin, if not in this question then in some other. I have said that there can be no democratic way out of the crisis without a democratic dialogue. If the solution is undemocratic, then it presents no way out, it is only a perpetuation of the crisis at another level, and the crisis will then escalate again and manifest itself in a much more drastic form. One cannot escape the fact that Yugoslavia is a country with differences. Therefore, all the comparisons with Poland and Hungary are unconvincing. We are comparable with the USSR, not in the quantity but in the quality of the problems. The USSR now has a federation like some people in our country now propose to establish, although one can see that it cannot solve problems. It is a common political manipulation when it is said in our discussions that we must be a modern federation like others. There is no modern federation that can serve as a model, each of the existing federations is something of its own. [passage omitted]

DANAS: Your have mentioned the Army. It is believed in the public that differences exist between the Army leadership and the Slovene leadership. How do you interpret the role of the Army in the present political life of Yugoslavia? Has it not been transformed into a political factor, rather than being a factor of the country's defense, which is its only duty and obligation?

Kucan: These are very sensitive questions; I do not mean politically, politically they are sensitive like any other. But because of the function that the Army has—and its function is the defense of the country—it must be capable of performing this function at any moment, which means regardless of whether some dramatic political discussions are under way. Therefore, the discussions in the Army and with the Army are not the same as discussions with some other segment of society where all the forces may exhaust themselves without any harm. I see a difference if we discuss a law-governed state, which means the direction of eliminating politics and ideology from the state [depolitizacija i deideologizacija drzave], including state repression machinery, which, of course, includes the Army. Then we have one answer about its place and role. If we discuss the existing situation in which the actually existing relationships in a political, party state, and by this very fact all its machinery, are manifested, the answers are of course quite different.

DANAS: When you mention the defense of the country, I suppose you also have Slovenia in mind?

Kucan: We have always thought that the Army also belongs to us. After all, we have no other. Of course this is not sufficient. The question is what the Army thinks about it. If the bond is mutually recognized—and I think that it is—we, too, have the right to say what we think about the Army. It is another question whether everything that we think is acceptable or not, but we have never insisted that everything in the Army, just as in the country, must be exactly as we want it in every detail. However, it is not good when one runs away from conceptual discussions by asserting that all this is just attacks on the Army, and it appears that this assertion need not even be substantiated when it concerns Slovenia. Of course I agree with the comrades from the Army that one should differentiate between a discussion and acts to destabilize the Army's combat readiness, as they put it. Nobody in Slovenia has ever discussed when the Army will go into action, when the Army will be used, and against whom it will be used, which I think would be the greatest attack both on the Army and its supreme commander. Anyhow, when one discusses an integral reform of society, no machinery can be exempted. Something similar is occurring to all the institutions that historically were generated by the party. The intelligence service originally also belonged to the party, and although it later protected the state, a residue has been left in the minds of the people with which it is very difficult to argue.

DANAS: You spoke about a democratic way out of the crisis. What do you think about the proposition that there is less and less scope and time for such an option? Do you see that democratic forces are growing as the time passes or are they losing ground?

Kucan: I think that time works for the democratic forces and when they strengthen so much that they ask for a democratic dialogue on all questions in the country, the democratic option will have won. Nothing else is possible in an atmosphere of democratic discussion. In an atmosphere of discontinued dialogue and intolerant relations, it is force and not arguments that decide. [passage omitted]

DANAS: On what do you base your optimism about the positive future of the democratic option? It seems that the public does not share your opinion and that it has much more fear for the future.

Kucan: I build it above all on the prevailing realization that our country must open up to the world in every respect. In Europe with a free flow of goods, people, information, and ideas, our country cannot remain unchanged. I would be much more pessimistic in my views if the prospect were that the country will be closed, and the economy and society will be closed. I believe, however, that people are serious when they say that they want to join Europe, and practically everybody in the country sees a chance for getting out of the crisis in something that used to be taboo or perhaps a Slovene or Croatian whim. When we say that we want to join Europe, for us it does not mean that we would crawl on our knees, creeping and groveling, but above all it means a mobilization so that we may reduce our great historical lagging behind the European development currents. Whether we will formally join the European community, when, and under what conditions we will do it, is a question of the future, not of a distant future, but I believe of the foreseeable future; for the time being it is most important that we push ourselves so that we begin

to work and to live in such a way that we can communicate with Europe, not only in the economic but also every other sense. As we stand now, we are really an anachronism in Europe. Human rights are certainly one of the phenomena that we must seriously take into account. It is no accident that the Alps-Adriatic premiers have signed a charter that begins with the provision that only those countries and those governments that are fully prepared to respect human rights have a place in that community.

Croat SAWP Criticizes Break

LD0512103289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1806 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—By its incomprehensible and unacceptable appeal for a break in relations with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference has taken one of the most dangerous steps toward the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Its constitutional system, the idea of a single Yugoslav market, as well as current processes of economic and social reforms, are under threat, while the legitimacy of some of its organs and institutions is being questioned, which no one can or has the right to replace or substitute.

This was said by Marijan Kalanj, president of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference, at today's extraordinary session of this body's presidium. The session focused on the current political situation in the country created by the decision to ban the meeting in Ljubljana, and by the appeal made by the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference. Kalanjs' introductory report was endorsed by all members of the presidium, as well as by representatives of the Croat leadership who attended the session. Stands adopted today will be presented tomorrow at a session of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference which meets to discuss the same topic.

To choose 29 November as the day for attacking the main achievements of our togetherness and coexistence, Marijan Kalanj said, is to humiliate Yugoslavia as both a federal and socialist community, to deny its revolutionary past, and to threaten its path toward a democratic future.

Using irrational narrow mindedness and incomprehensible stubornness to defend a decision which has no foundation in either the constitution or law can result in unforseeable consequences. There is no justification for the stands of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, as these are directed against the vital interests of that republic's nations and nationalities, and against all our republics and provinces. In the same way, calls for the recall of Drnovsek, Markovic, and others, deny the rights of citizens from other republics to select the people they trust most for the federal organs. The time has come to end suspicion of everyone and everything which does not come from one's own environment or is not of one's own nationality. [passage omitted]

Thus, no one can dispute the legality of the action by the top administrative bodies of the Slovenian Assembly not to accept meetings as a form of communication. The measures introduced are the ultimate legal means, which do not cheer progressive Yugoslavia, but initiators of the meeting knew what would be a reply to their pressures and blackmails.

Hereby we do not express our approval, but on the contrary, we condemn the unacceptable descriptions and qualifications presented to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, in which narrowminded nationalism, revanchism, and insults to the dignity of the Serbian and Montenegrin nations were reflected, Kalanj said. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the situation in Croatia at this difficult time, Kalanj stated that reason prevails but that there are attempts to destabilize the situation, both from outside and inside. Especially prominent are pressures on Serbs in Croatia to symphatize on a national basis with policies of the Serbian leadership, whereby their place and role as a constitutive factor of Croatia is denied. Both Serbs in Croatia and Croats as the majority nation face a major test, but Kalanj stresses that they will not succumb to pressures and proclamations which are spread in this republic. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Assembly Views Issue

AU0512180589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Expressing their concern about the destiny of the country because of increasingly bad interethnic relations, and particularly because of the way open questions between Slovenia and Serbia are being solved—so the conflict has reached the level of arbitrarily made statements—delegates of the Macedonian Assembly today adopted a declaration in which they call for a dialogue to be established and disputes solved in a reasonable way. Here is a report from Skopje by Boris Djordjioski:

Macedonian Assembly delegates demand that a session of the SFRY Assembly be convened urgently, so that the present sociopolitical situation could be observed and that in conformity with its constitutional authority, the Assembly could (?adopt) measures to overcome this worrisome situation. The declaration goes on to say that now when efforts are being made to democratize social relations further, imposing any kind of limit to (?political) freedoms of citizens in the united territory of Yugoslavia is uncomprehensible and (?unacceptable). However, the same can be said about any economic pressure, whatever side it comes from. One must not gamble with the destiny of the country and use it to settle accounts. Therefore, the behavior of the leaderships of both Serbia and Slovenia is unacceptable because they are solving disputes in mutual relations through unprincipled debates and by fomenting hatred among peoples. Instead of bickering, mutual accusations, quarrels, (?bans), and sowing discord, reason must prevail so that one can find

a way out of this situation and solve all disputes in the name of this country's present and future.

The delegates of the Macedonian Assembly were expected today to elect people to occupy the most responsible posts in the judiciary, at the Skopje Radio and Television, and the Macedonian National Bank. However, at the delegates request, an amendment was adopted involving secret ballot, as well as several candidates for one post, and this is the first time vote is conducted in such a way and not by simply raising one's hand.

It was concluded at the separate sessions of the assembly chambers that the initiative made by Serbia and Montenegro to adopt a federal law with a view to removing or mitigating the consequences of the revision of the law on giving land to colonists in Kosovo and Metohija is unacceptable. The same was said about a report by the Federal Executive Council concerning the adoption of a federal law. Although its law would apply to the people who had left Kosovo alone, Macedonian Assembly delegates are of the opinion that the law could later be expanded to the entire country and its adoption would make room for reexamining other laws. Tnerefore, they are of the opinion that the Socialist Republic of Serbia should solve all these questions by adopting a special republican law.

LCY Statement

LD0612055389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Article entitled: "Statement from League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium Session"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—At the session held 4-5 December, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium considered the current political situation in the country. Milan Pancevski, LCY Central Committee Presidium president, presented the introductory report. Top federal officials attended the session.

The Presidium noted that the economic and political situation in the country has, for a long time been, very difficult and complex. In political life, many negative tendencies, resistance to and misunderstanding of the reforms underway, unprincipled diversions, confrontations and disqualifications between leaderships and entire environments, ultimatum-like defenses or even imposition of partial interests, defense of one's own positions and views as "the only correct ones" or universal views, etc., continue to be active and to grow. All this brought about new exacerbations of intra-national and interrepublican relations and a further destabilization of the country. It opened up new space for escalation of nationalism. The LCY Central Committee Presidium pointed out these problems on several occasions and demanded appropriate efforts of republican and provincial leaderships, removal of propaganda war and unprincipled campaigns and exclusiveness. But, the needed activity was mostly missing; the LCY Central Committee stances have not been consistently implemented, so some negative tendencies even further deepened.

The latest events in the country, which arose in connection with the announcement and the ban of the meeting in Ljubljana, and the use of measures seen by the majority of the public as a crude violation of human rights and liberties, and then the condemnation of the measures and the call of the republican conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Presidium for the severance of ties between work organizations and institutions from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and work organizations and institutions from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia—which is an economic and political event without precedent—dramatically exacerbated the current situation in the country. This caused unforseeable consequences for Yugoslavia's unity, for its economic and political system, and for overall stability and development prospects. This caused the greatest concern in the whole country.

The latest difficult situation demands a critical reassessment of all of its aspects and an energetic elimination of the existing damaging consequences and a resolute prevention of possible further confrontations and exacerbations. Therefore, the LCY Central Committee Presidium demands that this trend of events should be stopped and that LCY members should be asked to oppose it and not to become affected by the atmosphere of divisions and conflicts. This is also significant in order to create favorable political conditions for economic and social reforms and to adopt the new SFRY Constitution. It is precisely this which presents the main task for communists, all socialist and democratic forces in the entire country, with the aim of a rejuvenation and dynamic development of socialism and democracy, realization of human rights and freedoms, improvement of the economy and its productivity and efficiency, and a development of the relations of equality and brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in a modern federal and democratic community of vital and historical interest to everyone.

At the same time it is necessary to carry out a united action in dealing with accumulated problems in society and in particular in the realization of the LCY's established policy in Kosovo through a comprehensive involvement of organs and organizations of the Kosovo LC, Serbian LC and the LCY, as well as all progressive forces of our society. Huge political problems and misunderstandings are also caused by different approaches and a lack of unity in the realization of the established LCY policy on Kosovo. This demands a consistent and united following, development, and practical realization of this policy in all parts of the LCY. A consistent realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo would eliminate many causes of misunderstanding in the entire society and in the LCY, as well as in relations between individual republics.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium commits communists in all environments, organs, and organizations to work for argued democratic dialogue on all important and open issues without conditions and mutual disqualifications and in this way to create conditions for society to find a more rapid way out of the crisis on the basis of a united program. The LCY Central Committee Presidium calls in particular for the Serbian LC and Slovene LC leadership to make every possible effort to overcome in a principled manner the tense situation, to consider it from all viewpoints, to remove its causes, and to jointly build and conduct a policy of all-around cooperation, tolerance, and mutual respect in relations of complete equality, openness and trust. Every republic and province bears direct responsibility for its own work and developoment, but also a high degree of obligation for the joint development and prosperity of the whole country.

The presidium believes all competent state and other organs in the federation and the republics and provinces should, in keeping with the situation created, efficiently carry out their constitutional and legal duties. To this end it is particularly important to create the necessary prerequisites for efficient functioning of the federation organs. For its part, the LCY Central Committee Presidium will directly involve itself in resolving this and other conflicts, proposing and undertaking activities and measures consistently in keeping with the LCY policies and statute. To this end it is necessary to intensify efforts in the democratic and qualitative preparations for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, its documents and decisions, for which it is essential to significantly change the political climate and make it effective for constructive joint work and a united approach to the important contents of the platform of activity of the LCY in the coming period. These are the duties of all parts of the LCY.

Assessing that these are all very important problems and aware of the particular responsibility of the organs and organizations of the LC, the presidium will propose that these issues should be debated and appropriate stances adopted at the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

Radio Commentary

AU0512215889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Political commentary" by Zivojin Jerotijevic]

[Text] Can the balancing tactics thus far used by those who support the so-called Yugoslav option successfully mediate and overcome the tense relations between Serbia and Slovenia? This is the subject of this evening's domestic political commentary. Here is Zivojin Jerotijevic:

It is no longer important which signal post had signaled the Slovene Assembly to begin work on the constitutional amendment on protecting state sovereignty from possible intervention from Yugoslavia, which it recently adopted. However, it is important to state that Slovenia did introduce emergency measures on the occasion of the simulated threat to sovereignty, that the border near Dobova was virtually closed to traffic, and that strong police forces with the broadest prerogatives were engaged against what they called in a derogatory way a mob meeting by terrorists. The blockade was complete and everything was done to prevent people from visiting someone else's house when they are not wanted there.

The absurd thesis about a house within a common house, a guest and a host, and a landlord and a tenant has resulted in negating some vital functions of the Federation. Above all, the novelty in the SFRY Constitution on the discretionary right of the SFRY Presidency to introduce emergency measures throughout the entire territory of the country or in some of its parts has been suspended. On the other hand, the constitutional norms on human rights and freedoms have been trampled upon. With this act, Slovenia has broken apart the internal structure of the federal state, has violated the social consensus created in the armed revolution, and has proclaimed that it no longer recognizes the Federation, and that, as far as it is concerned, the federal state no longer exists.

The moment was decisive, but that fact did not touch those who strongly support the policy of the balance of powerlessness. They acted as if nothing had happened.

Following in the wake of the accelerated speed of the crisis, the philosophy of symmetry [filozofiya simetrijg] has again expressed an astonishing inability to realize the nature of the situation and to change it. That had happened many times before. For example, the warning about the separatist character of Slovene constitutional amendments was ignored with unbelievable indifference. Proof of the activity of the unprincipled coalitions has been ignored. Eyes were shut to otherwise obvious corrupt affairs and political cases.

This quasi-philosophical circle has recently issued a cynical message to the effect that the state must offer all possible protection to Serbs and Montenegrins who have emigrated from Kosovo under duress. That is only happening now, a full 8 years after the counterrevolution had broken out, when less than 8 percent of the population consists of Serbs and Montenegrins, making Kosovo virtually ethnically pure, and now when the separatist politics in this province has escalated to the level of terrorism and lawlessness.

The abrogation of Azem Vlasi's trial is persistently insisted upon because of some reasons which are not difficult to determine. Pardon is demanded for acts that the public prosecutor had deemed the criminal act of fomenting unrest with extremely grave consequences—human victims. On this occasion and under the guise of concern about the alleged extermination of any (?leftist) competition, the frequent processes of differentiation and political court trials have been passionately criticized. According to that interpretation, we in Yugoslavia

have had discipline without democracy imposed upon us and Azem Vlasi has had political martyrdom and liquidation imposed upon him, although he is—and please note this—deeply devoted to socialism.

Of course, humaneness can serve as inspiration for generosity. However, why does this inspiration lack even a bit of humane feeling for a different opinion? Why does one ignore the clearly defined stand that democracy, human freedoms, a unified market, and the federation cannot be randomly distributed piecemeal? Therefore, the present frontal opposition to the recent move of the leadership of the Serbian Socialist Alliance is the logical continuation of the already established interpretation of democracy for oneself alone.

Despite the attempt to place the cause and effect on the same level of responsibility, one thing is nevertheless clear. The tense political situation provoked by the logic and practice of the house within the common house can be overcome, but a certain price must be paid: We must return dignity to the SFRY Constitution; reexamine the disputable Slovene amendments, particularly the ones which put themselves above the country's highest law and the Helsinki Human Rights Declaration; and examine the political responsibility of all those people who had initiated, realized, or supported the project of obstruction, which brought about the dangerous straining of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. It remains to be seen whether there will be a sufficient amount of moral strength and political will to do this. The time has come when we must clearly decide whether we support a Yugoslavia divided by various kinds of egotism or united by democratic threads and strong. So far, the Yugoslav idea has always been victorious in these regions.

Zelenovic on Role of SFRY Presidency

LD0312180789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency regardless of some individuals' statements, is aware of its responsibility to the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, stated as he was reflecting upon the statements of the president and some members of the Yugoslav Presidency in the wake of the events surrounding the "rally of truth" in Ljubljana.

The members of the Yugoslav Presidency, in Zelenovic's opinion, are not empowered to voice statements, particularly not in an unpremeditated way, about the various problems which are at the center of society's attention. The SFRY Presidency is the one which is empowered to do this and it should act as a united institution. The SFRY Presidency's members, as citizens, can, of course, voice their particular opinions at scientific, expert, and public panels.

This custom, however, was first infringed by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, by his frequent and, I would say, incautious statements to the media regarding "the rally of truth" and later some other members of the Presidency followed suit.

Zelenovic believes that in this way the public is being confused, as he raises questions about the SFRY Presidency's stands in general. The Presidency's stands on "the rally of truth" have been published and they clearly outline a need for democratic dialogue between the parties interested in this.

As far as I am concerned, the action taken by the Slovene police is an unreal and astounding act for which the leadership of Slovenia must be held accountable to the whole civilized world, not just to the nations whose citizens were arrested, Dragutin Zelenovic stressed.

Zelenovic said that he cannot understand the ban on freedom of movement in one's own state and the arrest of people who have neither the idea nor the conditions for endangering the constitutional order of the country and a republic. Of course, he added, I cannot understand the processes in the heads of those who insisted on and implemented the decisions regarding the bans and arrests.

It is obvious that this is a matter of previously established strategic orientations of a separatist character, which by their nature generate solutions from a time when the concept of democracy was unknown, Dr Dragutin Zelenovic stressed.

Everything else which has been happening in the wake of these bans and arrests is the natural consequence of previously conducted actions of assistance to the separatists in Kosovo, approval of the actions of the former Montenegrin leadership, the guiding of the activity of structures in favor of excessive autonomy in Vojvodina and similar demands, and what has been done now, Zelenovic assessed. [passage omitted]

Dr Dragutin Zelenovic stressed the obligation upon the SFRY Presidency to ensure the development of the modern state, about which he spoke; if this does not happen, the need for the existence of such a Presidency ceases to exist.

Hence the basic task of the Presidency, be believes, is to prevent the "establishment" of borders between the republics and especially actions leading to the abandonment of basic human rights, the banning of people's movement, and arrests—freedoms for which this country has been well-known throughout the world. At the same time, through the mediation of this Presidency, communications between people, mutual processes of negotiation, acquaintance with difficulties, the exchange of cultural achievements, the joint resolution of problems, and the removal of all undesired causes and reasons for the situation in which society finds itself, must be thoroughy ensured, Dr Dragutin Zelenovic said.

Belgrade Assembly Elects New President

LD0512073989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Milorad Unkovic is the New Mayor of Belgrade"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—At their first session delegates of the new convocation of Belgrade City Assembly today elected Milorad Unkovic to the post of Belgrade City Assembly President. He was elected by a large majority. Today's voting reiterated the outcome of yesterday's referendum at which Unkovic received 67 percent of the votes.

At today's session delegates also elected the following City Assembly vice presidents: Borislav Kuzmanovic and Milorad Andjelic. Zlatan Perucic is the new Belgrade Executive Council president.

In reaction to measures by the Slovene Socialist Republic leadership the delegates concluded that it is impermissible to curb the freedom of movement and citizens' rights of assembly within the Yugoslav border. By depriving citizens of this right the Slovene leadership has trampled on the SFRY Constitution, it was said.

It was stressed that this act is yet another step toward the secession of Yugoslavia's most northern republic as well as a sign of its continued support for the separatist-nationalist movement in Kosovo, and a sign of its destructive and terrorist activities. The delegates also condemned, as they put it, the Slovene leadership's constant activity to topple Kosovo's legitimate leadership. [passage omitted]

A stand was adopted to the effect that the delegates of the Belgrade City Assembly give their support to the view of the majority of Serbia's citizens as formulated by the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference in its recent appeal. Because of the Slovene leadership's anti-Yugoslav and inhumane act of violence and the unprecedented insults against the nations and nationalities of the Serbian Socialist Republic, no one who respects freedom and human dignity could go on cooperating with either those who violate human rights and freedom or their supporters.

Today's session was attended by Slobodan Milosevic, Zoran Sokolovic, and other officials of both the Serbian Socialist Republic and the City of Belgrade.

Vlasi Continues Defense at Mitrovica Trial

AU0512211489 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The trial of 15 people accused of counterrevolutionary activity continued today in Titova Mitrovica.

The first accused in the trial, Azem Vlasi, continued his defense today. From the very beginning of today's proceedings, the accused denied any involvement as inspirer or organizer of the events that took place last year in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Maintaining that a conspiracy for his political liquidation was mounted, Azem Vlasi mentioned as proof of this the meeting of the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee on [date indistinct], at which he was urged by [?Radica Gacic] and Kacusa Jasari to resign, the former saying that if he resigned, his integrity would be protected. When I demanded explanations about this, Vlasi went on to say, I received no answer. According to him, his political liquidation was demanded because of the events in November last year, which threw a shadow over the well-known meeting held at (?Uste) in Belgrade, which the Serbian leadership considered as a major event in achieving its own interests.

Rejecting the charges against him, Azem Vlasi said that the public prosecutor has tried to read my thoughts or to decipher them [as heard], stressing that during the November events I had had the support of the masses because I was supposedly displeased with the process of the renewal of cadres in the provincial leadership.

Stating that various individuals and groups used the opportunity of the February events to put pressure on the SFRY Presidency to apply emergency measures in Kosovo, Azem Vlasi reiterated that the plans for his imprisonment were hatched by a small group of the Serbian leadership, and that some people in Kosovo also knew of this at the time of the February strikes.

I have witnesses to the fact that as early as 25 February of the current year, in the office of the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, in the presence of Qemal Hasani and Avdi Mala, I was told that stringent measures are being prepared that will hit the Albanians, in particular. When I asked whether the Kosovo leadership had asked for such measures, Azem Vlasi said, Rahman Morina only shrugged and refused to comment. Two days later, when the emergency measures were applied, I understood very well why the president of the provincial committee had not wanted to comment.

Continuing his defense, Azem Vlasi spoke at length about the campaign mounted against him, stating that his liquidation resembled the methods applied during the Cultural Revolution in China, which, in other words, are Stalinist methods of settling accounts with opponents. [passage omitted]

With regard to the events on 25 February, when I met with the miners, he went on to say, I propose that a group of about 30 miners should be summoned to this court in order to bear witness as to my responsibility for the fact that they had refused to come out of the galleries even after their talk with the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. I now know that the same fate would befall me even if I had not gone down to meet the miners, but I urge the court to show respect for the law, regardless of the political situation and the political predisposition now prevailing, because the fact remains that in my political activity stretching over 20 years I have been engaged as a Yugoslav Communist, and not as an Albanian. I therefore ask the court to deal with me as a Yugoslav citizen, and not as an Albanian against whom a political trial has been mounted. You are not judging an Albanian nationalist and separatist, but you have before you one of Tito's Communists, because I was among the first since 1981 to struggle with all my being against Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

An unpleasant atmosphere descended upon the court after Vlasi's statements. The public prosecutor interrupted the accused, while the defense lawyers (?Zel Koluvic, Rajko Danilovic, and Fazlli Ballaj) reacted very sharply. The president of the court, Ismet Emra, calmed the situation, saying that the accused has a right to present his case without hindrance, but also admonished Azem Vlasi to speak more briefly, since he would have every opportunity to say everything in his final plea. The accused argued that he is going on at length because, as he said, I do not know whether I will be in a psychological condition to make my final plea.

The trial will continue tomorrow.

Four Albanians Sentenced to Prison Terms

AU0112213889 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 25 Nov 89 p 17

[A.M. Report: "The First Accused—Five Years Imprisonment"]

[Excerpts] After four sessions, the Pristina District Court yesterday concluded the trial of five people accused from various parts of Kosovo, Pristina, Podujevo, Gnjilane, and Dragas. Four persons were declared guilty, the first two for penal acts under Article 136 and Article 114 (association for hostile activity), and the second two under Article 133, Paragraph 4 (hostile propaganda) of the SFRY Penal Code.

Hakif Rexhepi (38), the first accused, from Kolic but now resident in Ajvalija, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment; Fadil Uka (35), from Pristina, was sentenced to 2 years; Jusuf Ejupi (37), from Podujevo, was sentenced to 8 months; and Sadik Fejziu, from the village of Brodosavce near Dragas, was sentenced to 7 months imprisonment. Nazmi Musa (38), a teacher of Albanian language and literature from Gnjilane, was acquitted because of lack of proof. There was insufficient evidence to support his charge under Articles 136 and 114 of the SFRY Penal Code. This person has been in prison since 11 April. [passage omitted]

Hakif Rexhepi and Fadil Uka admitted to the court that they had distributed propaganda material, illegal magazines, and banned books, but denied that they had been members of any group. Sadik Fejziu added that he had received "a bag of material" from Hakif, which he had then buried in the yard of his home in the village of Brodosavce. Jusuf also admitted that Hakif had left "material of some sort" in his apartment, but he told the court that his wife had later burned it.